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VOL. XXVI.

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M.DCCC.LII.

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THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

HENRY NEWCOME, M.A.

EDITED BY
RICHARD PARKINSON, D.D., F.S.A.,
PRINCIPAL OF SAINT BEES COLLEGE, AND
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Manchester:
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

VERY little, beyond a few words of explanation, seems required from the Editor to introduce these two volumes to the notice of the members of the CHETHAM SOCIETY. The history of the Author of them has been ably brought out in Mr. THOMAS HEYWOOD'S excellent Introduction to the volume of the DIARY, edited by him for the Society in 1849. That Diary, together with what is styled the "Abstract," had been intrusted to the present Editor by Mr. NEWCOME'S lineal descendant, the REV. THOMAS NEWCOME, Rector of Shenley, with a strict injunction that no transcript of or extract from it should be permitted, except for the purpose of publication by the CHETHAM SOCIETY. For that purpose the Rev. T. CORSER kindly undertook and laboriously executed a copy of the whole Abstract. It was, however, in consideration of the great bulk of the Abstract, thought advisable to print, in the first instance, the extended Diary for two years, which has been edited by Mr. T. Heywood. That volume has been so well received in various quarters, and so many inquiries have been made as to the probable issue of the unprinted volume, that it occurred to the learned PRESIDENT of our Society, as well as to the Editor, that by removing the antiquated spelling, abridging

the moral reflections, which however excellent are somewhat monotonous, and presuming upon the reader's knowledge of the history of most of the names that occur in the narrative, (which is generally to be found in Mr. Heywood's volume, or *Adam Martindale*,) two volumes might be formed out of the Abstract, which would be found of very great interest to the popular reader. This design is now carried into execution; and the Editor is much mistaken if the members of the Society do not find in these volumes much to gratify them, as illustrating the character of the man, the times in which he lived, and the party of which he was so great an ornament. In anticipation of the task now executed on these altered principles, the Editor had applied to his lively and excellent friend, the Rector of Shenley, for some notes regarding the history of his extraordinary family. The result of that application was the Memoir which follows. Nothing can be more characteristic than it is of its worthy Author, thus associated with his indeed altogether different progenitor! It is a great grief to the Editor to add, that the following amusing Memoir, written in 1846, is now, alas! a posthumous publication.

The Vice-President of the Chetham Society, my friend Canon Parkinson, has requested me to furnish a Memoir of the Family of Henry Newcome of Manchester; and to give the authentic account of the two MS. Volumes which I lent him, for the purpose of making extracts therefrom "at his will and discretion."

The lesser MS.(1) I found in this house, and by my brother Archdeacon Newcome it was lent, some years ago, to Mr. Hadfield of Manchester. The larger one was restored, in the year 1843, to me, as being a direct descendant from this Henry Newcome, by the Rev. Mr. Heathcote, Incumbent of Stamford Hill, Hackney, into whose possession it had come with the books of his father the Rev. Dr. Heathcote.

Into the Doctor's hands it came with other books, but evidently through the negligence of my second cousin and quondam schoolmaster, Richard Newcome Esq., when he resigned Hackney School, in the year 1800, to Mr. Heathcote's father.(2) The Vicar of Hackney, my great-grandfather, in whose handwriting the MSS. are, may have left or lent them to his younger son — the eminent schoolmaster of that place — instead of consigning them to the care of his eldest son, the Rector of Shenley.

In giving any Memoir of the family, I am placed in a

(1) This is the MS. already published by the Chetham Society.

(2) This old School-house, with the fields around it, was sold to the projectors of the London Orphan Society; and the Chapel of that noble Institution stands on the spot where we pitched the stumps for many a cricket match, or urged the flying football with or against Admiral Bladon Capel and Colonel William Cadogan, &c. The former, who was an adept in giving me at football a broken shin or a summerset, brought home the news of Nelson's victory of the Nile; the latter, my rival class fellow, fell heroically at the battle of Vittoria.

George and Henry Newcome, Esquires, are the only male representatives of the *Hackney* family. The former married late Miss Girardot. The latter has a family by his wife, a daughter of Sir William Wake of Courten Hall, Northampton.

dilemma — for Verity on the one hand demands that little be told when the much known is *of little value to the public* — while Vanity on the other hand prompts me, by rather audible whispers, "to make the most" of an honest and singular pedigree, shewing many generations of laymen living on the same estate to the days of Queen Elizabeth; and eight or nine generations from that time, in lineal continuity, of clerical and beneficed Incumbents.

The late Mr. Clutterbuck, Author of the *History of Hertfordshire*, sent me à copy of No. 1550, pp. 126 — 128, in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, by which it appears that fifteen generations of Newcomes or *Newcomens* lived and died seised of their estate of Saltfletby, in the county of Lincoln,[1] from the reign of Richard I. to that of Elizabeth, and A.D. 1596.

Of these several Hughs, and Walters, and Andrews, and Gilberts — deponent saith no more than that they lived "Armigeri," and as such died, as he piously hopes, "in pace Domini et Ecclesiæ suæ."

It may be said or sung of them all, if not "omnes ignoti quia carent vate," as by the witty King Charles to the knight of Norfolk — "Sir, you must have had neither fools nor knaves for your forefathers; for if fools, you had fallen lower in rank, and if knaves, have risen higher ere now."

(1) There were Newcomens of the county of Longford; the Barony I believe extinct. I have a note of a Mr. Newcomen endowing, with £200, Braintree in 1724, and one of this name beat the bush for starting the Steam Engine. I cannot trace relationship to the Newcombs or Newcombes of Devonshire and elsewhere.

From a rough MS. in the handwriting of my late uncle Peter Newcome, I select certain portions of a family history made by him out of his grandfather's notes — which grandfather was third and youngest son of "Henry of Manchester." The reader may smile (with me) at the motto prefixed thereto, as though we had been "atavis editi regibus," viz:

> "Nam Genus ac Proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco."

But of this I am quite as sure as that I derive my *being* from them, so my *living* also, that I have held for forty-five years, from them and not from my own deserts, nor any Episcopal or other patron. "*Laus Deo!*"

Unlike the great Napoleon in many respects,(1) so far from putting an "N partout" on every monument, the family has dropped the final n of Newcomen, and has thus reduced its claim to the Saltfletby pedigree to one of extreme probability — arising from identity of coat of arms, and coincidence of time and Christian name in the person of their Stephen, "a younger son," "a student of Cambridge," with the grandfather of Henry of Manchester; for in 1596 Stephen Newcome, a Cambridge scholar, married the sister of Dr. Cropley, Rector of Girton in the county of Cambridge, and schoolmaster at Ely, and sister also of Dr. Daniel Cropley, an eminent physician of Ely, and was his assistant and Curate.

(1) "Il a des ennemis par tout.
Il a des Ns mis par tout."

He and his wife died young, and left an only son, Stephen, who became in 1617 Rector of Caldecot in Huntingdonshire, and afterwards Patron also, by purchase.

"He was of Trinity College under Mr. Brookes, afterwards Doctor, and Master of the College; and Mr. Beale, afterwards Doctor, and Master of Jesus, and then of St. John's College, was his (chum) chamber fellow and great acquaintance.

"He was Curate to Mr. Warren, Rector of Fornham in Suffolk, who presented him to Caldecot in Hunts, inducted October 28th, 1617."

He married Rose, the daughter of Henry Williamson, B.D., and brother of Robert Williamson, D.D., Rector of Tichmarch, who were born at Salford near Manchester; and hence from his *maternal* grandfather was the Christian name of Henry derived to the subject of the succeeding pages, while that of Rose came to designate the daughter of the great Puritan — "the Rose of Cheshire," — and many since born. But that the

> "memory of the just
> Smells sweet and blossoms from the dust,"

a Rose by any other name, less floral, would have smelt as sweet, and died, too, like most of these ladies, spinsters — wasting their sweetness on the desert air — though the last fair Rose yet exists in the person of Mrs. Rose Mangles, wife of Charles Mangles, Esq., of Poile House, near Guildford.

The said Stephen of *Caldecot* and his wife died within a few days of each other, and, saith my MS., "were buried

in the same coffin in the Chancel of their Church," 4th February, 1641–2. They left eight children orphans, seven sons and one daughter: 1st, Robert, baptized November 27th, 1620; 2nd, Stephen; 3rd, John; 4th, HENRY, baptized November 27th, 1627, just seven years to a day after his eldest brother; 5th, Thomas; 6th, Richard; 7th, Daniel; and 8th, Rose, baptized November 18th, 1641.

"The family was now left in very desolate circumstances, the eldest son being but twenty-one years of age, and the youngest but three months old at the death of their parents. So Robert, having been admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, and taken his degree, went to teach school in Congleton in Cheshire.

"Stephen, the next brother, lived at home, and had been bred up to husbandry, farming some lands with the glebe of Caldecot. Henry, their brother, had been sent down to have his schooling at Congleton but nine months before his parents died. Upon this calamity, Robert returned to Caldecot Parsonage; but, being neither of age for the Incumbency, nor indeed for Deacon's Orders, was obliged to get some one to hold it for him. He applied to Mr. Barwicke his tutor, of St. John's College, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and he declining, recommended Mr. John Ambrose, B.D., Senior Fellow of that College. He gave title to Robert Newcome, and left the cure to him, taking the tithes, but leaving him the glebe, and *allowing ten pounds* a year towards maintaining the orphans; and this the clerical and farming brothers actually did, the latter by his farm, and the former by his exertions as a scholar — for he kept a private school, and

had, besides his younger brothers for his pupils, three sons of Mr. Meriton, Rector of Stilton, all men of eminence afterwards as good divines."

"The two brothers lived single for seven years, when Robert married Ann, the daughter of Mr. John Anderson, Rector of Wymmington(1) in Bedfordshire. Sometime after he obtained the Living of Allerton, near Peterborough, the value then being £80 per annum.

"This Robert left a son John, who succeeded him in the living of Caldecot: and this John died also, leaving, like his grandfather, a family of six orphans, for his wife died soon after 1691, and both were buried in Caldecot Chancel."

So far from my MS. I do not copy all that relates further to the *Caldecot* branch of the family: but I may just state that from this orphan family descended, in due time, Daniel, who about the year 1733 became Dean of Gloucester;(2) and, in a generation lower, William, a son of a

(1) Both advowsons, that of Caldecot and this of Wymmington, have long since (but how and when I know not) been alienated from these branches of the family, while that of Shenley, Hants, yet remains with the Manchester branch. Shenley passed, in the early part of the reign of Charles I., from the Pulteneys to the Crewes of Cheshire, and from the Crewes to the Lomax family of Childwich, Bury, near St. Albans, who still possess the manor of Shenley, but sold their advowson about the time of the Reformation. — The beauty of the site of the Parsonage House, with its noble old timber still standing, is noted in Salmon's *Hertfordshire*. — Shenley (Schon-leigh) signifies in Saxon, the beautiful leigh or ley for cattle.

(2) I have his large silver Snuff or Tobacco Box, inscribed "D. N.," with coat of arms — a cousinly legacy I suppose.

Rector of Barton-in-the-Clay near Luton, and of Hartford Hall, scholar, — then tutor to Charles James Fox, and to Earl Fitzwilliam, afterward Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his patron.

This William, through his own merit and high patronage, and Dei gratiâ, became Bishop of Dromore, then of Waterford and Lismore, and died Lord Archbishop of Armagh in 1800. He left a large family — two sons aud nine daughters; the latter married to Irish Protestant gentlemen of high standing in their counties, or to English gentlemen.

His son William, my schoolfellow at Hackney School, "dum arx alta manebat," is yet living, and is the Incumbent of Sutton, near Ely. Of his learned and Most Reverend father's Works I need not give my commendation, as it would not enhance their value. The chief of them are, "The Minor Prophets," and two MS. folio Volumes in Lambeth Library, being "Attempts at an Improved Version of the New Testament," with very valuable notes, published in two large octavo Volumes by Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1796.

Of John, the third of the orphans of Caldecot, it is only recorded that he became "a slop seller in Thames Street, London, a zealous sectary after the way of those times," and died a bachelor; and so he left none of that prolific breed, and nothing in his life so well became him as this total abstinence from progeny. Thomas, the fifth son, became a "meal man," and married an heiress of good fortune; "but it prospered not, for the father was a pawnbroker." He died of a lethargy at Hertford Priory, which he rented with

his son, and both died without further issue, and were buried at Allhallows Church, Hertford.

Richard, the sixth son, was of Jesus College, Cambridge, and married his brother Robert's wife's niece, one Jane White, a widow, but by birth an Anderson; and she brought the advowson of Wymmington to her husband Richard. So his brother Robert's wife became his sister-in-law and aunt-in-law, and his brother Stephen's wife Alice, a sister to Robert's wife, became his sister and mother-in-law.

Richard held Wymmington forty-three years, and died in 1707, and was buried in his Church. Daniel, the seventh son, died an apprentice to his brother the meal man; and Rose, the eighth child, died a spinster.

Thus was this orphan family provided for and settled, and *in this generation* became divided into three branches: 1st, the eldest, that of Caldecot; 2nd, the middle, that of Manchester; 3rd, the youngest, that of Wymmington.

I shall not copy what relates to the Wymmington branch; but this Richard had eight children. His son Richard succeeded to Wymmington as patron and Incumbent, and he, too, left two sons and two daughters. But of the middle, or Manchester branch, it is my *imposed* duty *to give* some information.

Of my own *direct* ancestor, Henry of Manchester, the noted Puritan and *as notable loyalist*, the only one of nine in lineal and continuous order of descent not episcopally ordained, these are my notices from the MS. He was, as afore shewn, educated by his eldest brother, Robert of Caldecot, admitted of St. John's College, and went into Cheshire

— on what account doth not appear, saith the MS. (but probably to teach or preach at Congleton, say I.) On July 6th, 1648, he married, in his 21st year, Elizabeth, the sixth daughter of Mr. *Peter* Manwaring of Smallwood, in Cheshire. He became Rector of Gawsworth in that county, and such very probably on the interest of his wife; for the niece of Gerard Lord Macclesfield, of Gawsworth Hall, was a Miss Manwaring. — (See the Letters of Lady Suffolk, published in Murray in the year 1824, note, page 7.) This lady was the first wife of the Lord Mohun, who bequeathed to his second wife Gawsworth Hall estate, which he had obtained by his first wife, *Charlotte* Manwaring, for Lord Macclesfield left Gawsworth Hall and estates to him. This preference offended the Duke of Hamilton, who had married another niece. Discussions produced the horrid and memorable duel, fatal to both combatants. The second Lady Mohun, thus possessed of this estate, left it to her own daughter by Colonel Griffith, the first Earl of Harrington, and thus carried into his family an estate with which they had no connexion by blood or by alliance.

In the year 1656, upon the death of Mr. Richard Hollingworth, assistant to Mr. Heyricke of Manchester, Henry Newcome was invited to succeed him, and accordingly removed to Manchester. Calamy wrongly places him among the ejected from Manchester; for, if ejected at all, it must have been from Gawsworth, which was his only preferment. He preached privately till 1672, when he obtained a license.

"His congregation afterwards built him a very handsome meeting-house in Cross Street, Manchester, wherein he con-

tinued to preach till his death, September 17th, 1695. He was buried in *his* Chapel, and left five children: 1. Rose; 2. Henry; 3. Daniel; 4. Elizabeth; 5. Peter. His tomb has [had] the following inscriptions:

"Here resteth the Body of Henry Newcome, A.M., Minister of the Gospel in Manchester 38 years. Buried September 20th, 1695, aged 68 years.

"James Newcome, died 25th January, 1695, in the 19th year of his age.

"Elizabeth, relict of Henry Newcome, &c., died aged 84, and was buried February 8th, A.D. 1700.

"Rose (their daughter) buried May 4th, 1719, in her 70th year."

Now in the year 1827, having then my eldest son Henry Justinian Newcome at the Collegiate School, under Doctor Smith, I made a pious pilgrimage to Cross Street Chapel with a view to see this stone therein, but (alas for sectarian popularity and gratitude!) without view obtained. Tombstone was gone; *picture* was none, *there* at least, though I expected to see it in the Vestry room. *His* Chapel, and tombstone, and picture, were all buried with him, or "ejected," like himself.

I will only add, that the death of the worthy old Henry of Manchester was accelerated by the premature and *recent* death of his grandson James, "a lad of most extraordinary parts," whom his pious grandfather had *predestinated*, so far as he could, for his successor, and a Presbyterian minister of course, but God had pre-*ordained* him not to minister in the Church Militant here on earth, but early to *serve* in that tri-

umphant in heaven. The father of this lad was Daniel, the *second* son of our Henry. Of him and his family I have no trace; but he or one of his sons designed the new Church at Sunderland; and some of this northern branch may be still existent.

Henry,(1) *eldest* son of Henry, was of Edmund Hall, Oxford, 1667, became Rector of Tattenhall in Cheshire, and was afterward presented by Sir Ralph Asheton to the Rectory of Middleton in Lancashire. His daughters married one Bann of Manchester, and Latus of Manchester, and a third married B. Nicholls of Chester, Esq. Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry, survived her father, but died a spinster like her sister Rose.

Thus it appears that the three sons of the Puritan were all regularly ordained, as their grandfather and forefathers were, and all held preferment after the restoration of the Church and kingdom; for, lastly, Peter, his youngest son, born November 5th, 1656, was admitted first of Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1673, and then of Brasenose, Oxford.

As a calf suckled and fatted by two cows becomes a very

(1) This Henry Newcome I believe to be the author of a very long, amicable, and strongly argued correspondence, (by a union of good sense and great learning worthy of the judicious Hooker himself,) between T. B., a popish priest of Lancashire or Cheshire, and (Henry Newcome) H. N., on the subject: "Why no Christian Parent can consent that his Children be brought up contrary to the Judgment of his own Conscience in matters of Faith and Religion;" and also, "For and against Transubstantiation." I can find no date, the book being mutilated; but I think it most valuable.

great calf, so this Peter, sucking the breasts of two Alma Maters, became a considerable man in his day. He published two Volumes on the Church Catechism, &c. As Curate of Hook in Hampshire, he married Mrs. Ann Hook, whose father, Eustace, had a fair estate thereat. Peter became Vicar of Aldenham, in Hertfordshire, in 1683, presented thereto by Francis Lord Holles of Ifield. Here he lived till September, 1703, when he removed to Hackney, Middlesex, to the then Vicarage (but now Rectory); he was presented by the present patron's ancestor, William Tyssen, Esq.; and here he died October 5th, 1738, aged 82.

He has a fair tomb in the old church yard, close to the Rectory House, with a long Latin inscription thereon. In this tomb lie the remains of many of his descendants — including three schoolmasters, one of them of great eminency as such, in a school that flourished under them for eighty-eight years.

This Peter, the Vicar, left twelve children, six surviving him, of whom I shall notice only the sons. Peter, his eldest son, of Brasenose (like his father), was his father's curate till 1715, when he obtained the Vicarage of East Willow, in Hampshire, from the Duke of Chandos. There he married Ann Haskar "of that ilk," 1726, and then obtained, through Mr. Bridges, who had married a daughter of Sir Joseph Wolfe, of Hackney, the Living of Badcombe, Somersetshire; which, in 1742, he quitted for the Rectory of Shenley, in Hertfordshire, upon the avoidance thereof by the death of Phillip Falle, the Rector, Prebendary of Durham, and Historian of Jersey, of which place he was a native. The

advowson of Shenley had been purchased by his father in 1714, the parish adjoining Aldenham. The original sum for its purchase did not exceed one year of its present value; but twenty-eight years interposed between the purchase and his son's induction thereto.

His waiting was long, his enjoyment short; for this Peter (the second) died 1744, and the Living was again held for Peter (the third), his eldest son, who was inducted 1751, and held it till he died, a bachelor, at his sister Ann Newcome's house, at Hadley, near Shenley, in April 1797. His only brother, Henry, my father, became Patron of Shenley, and presented thereto the Rev. Thomas Hughes, his brother-in-law, my maternal uncle, late Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and a quondam sub-preceptor of the three younger Princes, sons of George the Third. He held Shenley for me. I was inducted in 1801, on Dr. Hughes's resignation thereof, when, I well remember it, wheat was sold for eighteen shillings the bushel, which now fetches seven.

But to return to Peter the last. — He was author of the *History of the Royal Abbey of St. Alban*, a work now scarce and become of value, but of which I have some curious anecdotes. On the author's death, about seven hundred remaining copies, after some three hundred sold and presented, were given to me, then a scholar of Queen's College, Cambridge. I left them in the hands of one Wickstead, of Charing Cross, the publisher, who consigned them to a warehouse in Denmark Street, St. Giles's; where, in a dark garret, I found them, sure enough, in company with a libel on the Duke of York, by Colonel Thornton. This Wickstead

becoming bankrupt, all my copies — which, at the sale price, had fetched about nine hundred pounds — were lost to me, and sold by the assignees to Baines the bookseller, and to be purchased cheaply at many a stall for several years. This Peter also composed, for the solace of his bachelor and solitary hours, a Latin Poem, yclept, *Judas Maccabæus*, and indiscreetly published it; for, *albeit* abounding in poetic ideas and passages, it abounded *yet more* in false quantities, and so I burnt as many copies as I could find, as a profane or pious nephew should have done; a warning to *old boys* not to meddle with schoolboys' tools. The only other son of Peter of Willow, Henry, (my father,) was educated at Hackney, under his uncle, (along with the Cavendishes, Fitzroys, Greys, Yorkes, his schoolfellows in that then Whiggish school;) admitted of Queen's College, Cambridge, of which his uncle Richard had been a member, and who had now (1751) become Bishop of Landaff, and was translated to St. Asaph 1761.

Henry became Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College 1753; and, as Proctor of the University, he printed a *Table of Fees* due for admission, and on taking University Degrees; a useful summary view, and a check upon growing *ignorance* or growing exaction, or the *undue suspicion* thereof, were it now reprinted from my copy. I have yet a list of his pupils, and among them the Hon. Booth and John Grey, descendants from the kind and steady patron of his great grandfather, Henry of Manchester! The account of his College expences amounts not to the half of mine and my brother, Archdeacon Richard Newcome, at the same College, forty-five years ago; while ours was not much more than

the half of each of our sons at Trinity and Baliol Colleges, Oxford; meaning hereby not the mere and strictly Collegiate charges, but allowances and expences six or seven years since.

His episcopal uncle of St. Asaph died at Bath, and was buried at Whitchurch in Shropshire, 1769, which great living was presented by the Duke of Bridgewater. He gave his chaplain and nephew Henry, on quitting his Collegiate offices, first, the living of Castle, in Montgomeryshire; and next, in 1761, and with Castle, the valuable and desirable living of Gresford, in Denbighshire, — desirable, as not requiring the knowledge of the Welch language. The beautiful church of Gresford was repaired under his direction, and its beautiful site overlooking a valley — now profaned by a railroad through its overhanging woods — has the frequent visit of many a church-seeking tourist. This Henry married first, 1767, Anne, daughter of the Rev. Edward Jones, of Freemantles, near Southampton, by whom he had one child, a daughter Anne, who married her cousin, Captain Jones, R. N., and died without issue. Henry married, secondly, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Hughes, Head Master of Ruthin School.(1) She died 1783, leaving five children, viz., Elizabeth, Henry, Thomas, (writer of this Memoir,) Richard, (now Archdeacon of Merioneth and Warden of Ruthin,) and Maria.

(1) Ruthin School during, before, and since my maternal grandfather was Master, turned out several eminent men; inter alios, Dean Tucker, of Gloucester, and Lord Kenyon, Chief Justice. He married a Salusbury, and the Salusburys affirm that they derive from a Count of Salsburgh, natural son of Charlemagne. There's a set-off for our lack of noble blood, viz., royal and bastard ! ! !

The two daughters are yet living at the Parsonage-house of Gresford, (1845,) renting it of the Lessees of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester; which Corporation, as *tradition saith*, had this distant and now most valuable Impropriation in lieu and exchange for the late Chapel of St. Stephen, or Commons' House of Parliament, the Crown having acquired the Gresford tithes as part and parcel of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Stanley, temp. Henry VII., who built Wrexham and Gresford churches out of the spoils.

Henry of Gresford's eldest son, Henry, was of Queen's College, but died at the early age of nineteen years, at Gresford Vicarage-house; and Henry, the father, died there October, 1803, and was succeeded by a son of Bishop Horsley, now and for seventy years or more resident in Scotland, and Dean of Brechin, in the Episcopal Church thereof.

Let me conclude these Memoirs with the remark, that I have reason to thank God for allowing me to live out and through a period of eventful history for Church and Realm of England, but productive of no events in my own private records likely to interest the present or future public.

My son Henry, one of eleven born to me, and of eight yet living, — and "none, but when they died, e'er caused a parent's tear,"—will, if he survive me, be the ninth in direct continuous line of beneficed Clerks from our Reformation to the present time.

I have omitted numberless names of Newcome, and of relatives by consanguinity and affinity; but it is worthy of note, that few of the collateral kinsfolk have thriven out of holy orders or scholastic professions. For *none* have been

attorneys, barrister, or judge; and none have left landed estates worth mentioning. But one lived and died a country apothecary, and one became a soldier, and Marlborough *left him* in the trenches of Lisle, 1707. One or two went to sea, and were heard of no more; but one, a Henry, became Captain R.N., under Sir Edward Hughes, in the East Indies, and, in the revolutionary war of 1793, made a fortune, as Captain of the Orpheus frigate. He died, too, a bachelor, and has a monument in the chancel of Hackney new church.(1)

Three Schoolmasters made fortunes; one Clerk became Archbishop of Armagh, one Bishop of St. Asaph, one Dean of Gloucester, and one Dean of Rochester, in the eighteenth century: and one is Archdeacon of Merioneth in the nineteenth century. Thirty or more have been Rectors, Vicars, &c. I have, or had, two sons, three nephews, three sons-in-law, — all, as yet, Curates only, but good Pastors on stinted pastures. One was Governor of Bencoolen, and starved at

(1) This naval Captain had some gallant spirit both as a Midshipman, and when fighting those "drawn engagements with suffrein." Being in one of the ships in the squadron sent to the North American coast, when Prince William (afterwards Lord High Admiral and Monarch) was also a mere *Mid* like himself, and both dining at the Admiral's table, the latter jeered the former aloud, asking Newcome "how such a lubber had got into the service?" The spirited and handsome lad replied, looking the royal youngster hard in the face,—"Why, you see, Prince, I was *one of a large family*, not having a crown to call my own, and too great a dunce to succeed my father as Birch of Hackney School; so, being fit for nothing better, I was sent to sea." This anecdote I had from the late Honourable Captain Lindsay, brother to the Bishop of Kildare and the present Countess of Hardwicke.

sea.(1) In trade, none have left name, note, or estate, and few tried; but a son of my Christian name is trying to break the spell.

Of the amiable sex, whether Roses or not, red, white, or yellow, the greater portion have by chance or fate died spinsters, and mostly old ones. None, however, are recorded as having disgraced the family, — if, indeed, one luckless widow did not do so (some two hundred years ago), of whom my record remarks: "She was a thriftless woman, and is thought after her husband's early death to have kept a public house;" alas! for the *public* honours of Newcome.

One weak-minded boy was made a woolcomber! "Ohe jam satis!" for were I to collect and recollect (which I cannot do — luckily for the public and my own credit therewith,) all the odd stories, incidents, and facetiæ of living members of the family, I might make indeed "a very large book," and therewith make, what were work of supererogation in this naughty world — another "great evil."

I conclude, Mr. Vice-President, with my fervent prayer for the Three C's — greatest subjects of my loving and careful cogitations by night and day — my Country! — Children! — Church! May God still protect and bless "Tria juncta in Uno."

Shenley Parsonage, Herts.
April, 1846.

(1) Stephen Newcome was starved at sea with his wife and servants, at the island of Mawsa, and there buried with his wife, Violanta Hunter, owing to the Captain of the ship missing his course and the trade winds: as singular as lamentable a fate, and that for a governor, too.

It now only remains to add a list of Mr. Newcome's known Publications. They are as follow: —

1. Usurpation Defeated, and David Restored; being an Exact Parallel between David and our Most Gracious Soveraign King Charles II. in their dangerous dissettlement and wonderful Restauration: laid open in a Sermon on 2 Sam. xix. 14., preached on the Publique Solemn Day of Thanksgiving, May 24, 1660, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster. By Henry Newcome, Master in Arts and Minister of the Gospel there. Prov. xxiv. 21. My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change. — London: Printed for Henry Eversden, at the Greyhound, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1660.

To the Honourable Sir George Booth, Baronet, one of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons; the Right Worshipfull Sir Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, Knight and Baronet; and the Right Worshipfull Richard Holland, Esq. — Renowned Sirs: This Sermon, preached some Moneths since, and at the importunity of many Friends now published, which hath gotten of all this time of its suspension and intended utter suppression, no higher an esteem with its unworthy Author, had need, when forced out, to seek for Patronage. Neither are there any to whom I could more willingly and confidently engage myself for such a favour than yourselves; whom I have cause to preferre in my thoughts not only for your undeserved Respects upon occasion to myself, which I would hereby (with all thankfulnesse) acknowledge, but also for the Renowned Undertakings, Hazards and Sufferings, you have undergone for the Publique. It is gratefull to me that I should by the Providence of God, date this Epistle to such a Sermon in this Moneth, which but a year since was the season of so many hazards and dreadfully threatening dangers, to yourselves principally and to many others with this poor town of MANCHESTER, which so willingly offered themselves with you in that cause of God you so signally engaged in. Shall it ever be forgotten by us what the Lord hath wrought? May not that holy

Providence and Power of his be for ever adored, that hath in such a short time turned for us our Mourning into Rejoycing? That those proud waves should be so soon and remarkably broken upon us, and be now like the waters that are passed away. I hope the profit of these Dangers and Deliverances shall remain with us as a sufficient and lasting ground of engagement upon our hearts to fear, serve, trust, and delight in that God who hath thus wrought for us. And if this poor service may any way tend to the recording and perpetuating of our sense of this wonderfull Mercy, and of our faithfull and loyal engaging for and rejoycing in the glorious Return of his Gracious Majesty to these Nations, (wherein the people of these Two Counties, engaging with you as their faithfull and active Leaders, have cause to conceive they have a double share,) I have the utmost I could aim at in this so despicable an undertaking. And humbly craving pardon for this boldness, I commit you to the blessing of that God that performeth all things for us: And am your unfaignedly affectionate and unworthyest Servant in the Gospel, Henry Newcome.

2. The Sinner's Hope: as his Priviledge and Duty in his worst Condition, Stated, Cleared, and Improved. Tending as well to the Startling and Inviting of the Wicked from his Sinfull and Wretched Course, upon the Conditionall Hopes that are layd out for him: as the Confirming and Directing of the truly humble and weak Christian in his Duty and Comfort in the severall Cases of Darkness, Sin, and Affliction. Being the Substance of Severall Sermons preached by Henry Newcome, M.A. and one of the Ministers of the Gospell at Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster. Lam. iii. 29. He putteth his Mouth in the Dust; if so there may be Hope. Jer. ii. 25. But thou saidst there is no Hope, no, for I have loved strangers and after them will I go. Heb. vi. 18. That . . . . we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the Hope set before us. — London: Printed by E. C. for George Eversden, at the Sign of the Maiden-head in Paul's Church-yard. 1660.

3. A Plain Discourse about Rash and Sinful Anger; as a Help for such as are willing to be relieved against so sad and too generally prevailing a Distemper even amongst Professors of Religion. Being the Substance of some Sermons preached at Manchester in Lancashire. By Henry Newcome, M.A. and a Minister of the Gospel there.—London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, near Mercer's Chappel, 1693.

Calamy mentions, in addition to the above, amongst Newcome's Works:

A Discourse on Ezra, 10. 2. The Covenant of Grace effectually remembered. A Discourse on Psal. 105. 8. with 1 Chr. 16. 15. An Help to the Duty in and right Improvement of Sickness. A Discourse on Job, 5. 6. 7. 8. A faithful Narrative of the Life and Death of that holy and laborious Preacher Mr. John Machin late of Astbury in Cheshire, 8vo. 1671.

It appears also, from the following Autobiography, page 101, that Newcome wrote the Narrative and Answer to the Preface in the work entitled "The Censures of the Church Revived," 4to. 1659.

R. P.

St. Bees,
February 21, 1852.

Autobiography

OF

HENRY NEWCOME, M.A.

Junius, that eminent divine, hath left his own life writ by himself, which he thus begins: "Miserationes Domini narrabo quum rationes narrabo miseræ vitæ meæ; ut glorificetur Dominus in me qui fecit me. De me dicam, Domine, coram te; ac potius de te dicam, Domine, agente in me; et enuntiabo veritatem quam singulari gubernatione tuâ voluisti explicatam in me pro misericordiâ infinitâ tuâ. Ut et amici rogantes videant, et liberi quos dedisti mihi recordentur prestitam illam erga me veritatem tuam, et omnes pii implorantes illam misericordiam tuam quâ effecisti me, deducantur mecum in adyta veritatis tuæ." And reverend and eminent Bishop Hall hath left some choice memorials of his own life, of which he says, "What I have done is worthy of nothing but silence and forgetfulness, but what God hath done for me is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory." And indeed what men have so writ of themselves hath made posterity a truer and more exact account of passages of divine providence towards them than could be done by any other that hath come after them, that hath taken in hand the lives of men deceased and gone. That it is little question but those lives that have been so written by others, had been much fuller

representations of goodness and admirable providence if some remembrances had been made thereof by themselves, who were the parties concerned, and had the knowledge of those circumstances which would have rendered things much more conspicuous which could not in all likelihood be gathered up by other hands when they were gone. And though I have no high thoughts of any great matters concerning myself, yet God hath done great things for me in the whole course of my life; and the more despicable and obscure I have been in my own person and parts or performances, the more admirable hath the divine goodness been extended to one so unworthy. And having had some account of things all along from my younger years, and having now a vacancy from my public employment, I thought it might not be amiss to contract and methodize some of those accounts into this entire narrative, which I design especially to the use of my children after me, that they may remember the God of their father, to the end they might have their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments (Psalm lxxviii. 6, 7);— often thinking on that pious expression of a worthy divine, that to record divine providences is not the least portion of God's praise, of our duty, and of posterity's patrimony.

My father, Stephen Newcome, M.A., was born at Ely, where his father, in all likelihood, was settled first of that name, being Master of the Free School there, for the name is not ordinary in England. Some of the name have lived heretofore about Leicester; one, a famous bell-founder, who was alderman, and had been mayor of that corporation. Others of that name are gentlemen of good quality now in Lincolnshire; and there are also of the name in Ireland that have been knights, spoken of in the late wars, as Sir Robert and Sir Beverly Newcome, and one Lord Newcome. I understand that the family of the name of Newcome and Newcomen (conceived to be originally one and the same) is very great in Lincolnshire at this day, whence all of the name in other parts of England and Ireland first sprang.

Where my grandfather was born I know not; but I presume he might come to Ely from the university. He married one Cropley,

who was sister to an eminent Doctor of that name, who died parson of Girton, four miles from Cambridge; and another Daniel Cropley, a physician of good account, who lived and died in Ely. My grandfather died young; left two children, Stephen and Bridget. My aunt married Mr. Richard Wigmore, vicar of Sutton, and parson of Meple in the Isle of Ely, brother to Archdeacon Wigmore, a man famous for the great estate he left to Dr. Wigmore, late Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge, and parson of ———— in Cambridgeshire. My father was brought up at St. Edmund's Bury; occasioned, I presume, from the second marriage of my grandmother to one Mr. Noble, parson of Ampton, four or five miles from Bury. He was a scholar there (I have heard him say) when the great fire happened there, 1608, that burnt down almost all the town. Upon the frequent talk when I was a child, of Bishop Wren, who was famous for the severities that were the noise of those times, he would have said, that Mr. Wren was a young Master of Arts when he was a school-boy, and that he often came to visit the master; who had a robin red-breast that would have come to his hand, and he would set it on Mr. Wren's hand, at which he seemed much pleased; but the bird dying, Mr. Wren wrote a paper of verses, of the Wren's Elegy for the Death of Robin Red-breast.

My father was admitted in Trinity College in Cambridge. Mr. Brookes, (afterwards Dr. Brookes and master of the college,) was his tutor; and he that was afterwards Dr. Beale, (master of Jesus, and afterwards of St. John's College,) was his chamber-fellow and great acquaintance. He took his degrees in the university; and after some time spent as a curate under one Mr. Warren, a reverend divine in those parts, at Fordham in Suffolk, he was presented to the parsonage of Calcot in Huntingdonshire, I think, by Mr. Warren; but afterwards, he bought the patronage of the living, which still remains in the power of my eldest brother. He married Rose, the eldest child of Henry Williamson, B.D., parson of Connington. He was brother of Robert Williamson, D.D., parson of Tichmarsh. They were both born in Salford, near Manchester, in the county of Lancaster. Her mother was Rose, the daughter of Dr. Sparke,

one of the four divines, on the one part, that maintained the conference at Hampton Court; his elder daughter, Grace, being before married to Dr. Williamson, my grandfather's elder brother. These two women were of excellent parts for piety, gravity, and prudence; savouring all their days, of that excellent education and example, they had in the house of their pious father. After the death of my grandfather Williamson, she married Mr. Watts, who succeeded in the parsonage of Connington. She was my god-mother; I bearing the name of my grandfather.

My father had seven sons and one daughter. And though he never made anything of the business of a seventh son, yet it was very observable that his only sister and he should both of them have seven sons. I was his fourth son; born in November, 1627, baptized November 27th; on which day, seven years before, my eldest brother, Robert, was baptized. I have oft heard my mother speak that when I was born they looked upon me as dead, inasmuch, as after much striving, some voted me to be laid by. But it pleased God to give life.

I was taught grammar by my father in the house with him. And when my eldest brother, after he was Bachelor in Arts, was master of the Free School at Congleton in Cheshire, I was, in the year 1641, about May 4th, brought down thither to him, and there went to school three quarters of a year, until February 13th; at which time that eloquent and famous preacher Dr. Thomas Dodd was parson at Astbury, the parish church to Congleton, where I several times, (though then but a child), heard him preach.

Whilst I was at Congleton, in November my father had a daughter born, after seven sons; which was great joy to them, they desiring much, (as is usual in that case,) a daughter, if it were the will of God. At Christmas, my brother went up to see them; at which time he preached, (having not past once or twice preached before,) which no doubt increased the joy of my father. Before he came thence, my second brother, Stephen, fell suddenly and dangerously sick, — to shew the uncertainty of all pleasures and gladsome days here. It pleased God he recovered; and the first day he went

abroad, (he managing the matters of husbandry, and so concerned in it,) one of the best horses, in playing in the stable, broke his leg. My mother, upon this, strangely said, This was not the worst.

Soon after brother Stephen's recovery, and the other misfortune, my father fell sick. Finding himself weak, he sent for Mr. Loftus, an attorney, to make his will. The attorney came in; and upon the very first sight of him, my mother went out of the room in extremity of grief, and took her chamber. My father died on the Monday after; and though they told her not, she would call herself a widow, and wished them not to bury him till she might be buried with him: and so the Thursday after she was ready to go to the grave with him, dying the night before. And so they were buried both in one coffin, on February 2nd, 1641.

When my father was on his death-bed, and my mother, in her affectionate manner, was lamenting her condition, saying, what must she and her's do if he went? he bid her be content; for he was confident that God which had made him faithful to look to his brothers and sisters left to him, would never leave his. This he spoke in reference to the children that were left by Mr. Noble, his brethren and sisters by the mother's side, which were left to him; and he had taken care of them as a father; and he had the comfort of his love and faithfulness unto them, when he thus lay in dying. And see the goodness of God herein. We were eight of us thus left, seven sons, and a daughter but as old as from November 20th to February 1st, when they died. Yet God did verify that to us, which the psalmist speaks of, "When father and mother forsake me, then the Lord taketh me up." And that in these several respects: —

1. In that the living being then void, and my eldest brother unordained, and under age to take it, God stirred up friends that proved faithful. Mr. Barwicke, (now Dr. Barwicke, and dean of St. Paul's,) my brother's tutor, was desired to take it. He could not well engage in it himself, but he recommended Mr. John Ambrose, B.D., now Senior Fellow of St. John's College, who came and took the title of the living, and left the cure to my

brother, who was hereupon ordained deacon. And he held it till he was of age to take it himself, and had not above £10 a year out of it; which was a great means of support to my brother in order to the great charge of all the children thus left upon him.

2. In that he inclined the hearts of the elder brethren to deny themselves so far as to keep themselves single, and with a servant to keep house, and to keep the children together at least seven years after my father and mother died. And so they took care of the younger children, and they were all disposed of to trades and the university, I verily believe, as our parents themselves would or could have done, if they had lived; two of us more going to the university, and three to London for apprentices.

3. That God maintained such great love and concord amongst the children; no crossing nor untowardly carriage in any; the elder brothers being careful and tender of all the younger, and the younger bowing to and ruled by them; God especially blessing them in their endeavours that there was still a sufficiency to do all that was needful to be done herein.

4. That God did so signally bless every brother apart, especially with his greatest gift — with spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ — every one of the children as they came up discovering a savour and relish of good. John and Daniel died in London. The other still alive, and I hope breathing after Christ, and desirous of an eternal inheritance. And for outward things, some of them are very notably provided for in the world; the eldest brothers having the blessing of their love and faithfulness to the younger abundantly poured in upon them, living plentifully and prosperously in the world; one, a younger at London, having a good trade, and marrying a wife that is become heiress to good land; a younger, a minister, parson of Wymington in Bedfordshire, and also well disposed of in marriage. And for God's mercies to myself, I am now to recount them, being able to say more of what concerns myself, not as thinking I have gone through more than they, but however, my own condition is better known to me than theirs is.

Upon the death of my parents I neglected schooling a while,

yet still was attempting making English discourses sermonwise at vacant times; and so after a time my brother began to teach a private school, and I fell to my book, and at Caldcot, where I was born, had my education at school under my eldest brother, in company with eight sons of Mr. Meriton, parson of Stilton, Henry, John and Thomas, all three scholars and eminent ministers, and Mr. Thompson, now parson of Stilton, and my brother Richard, parson of Wymington.

When I read the lives of some of the German divines, that notice was taken of their inclinations in their youth, and the delight that one had when he was a child to sit aloft above his companions, and to seem to read to them, was taken for a presage of his being a Doctor of the chair, &c., I cannot but remember that my fancy ran much after preaching, it being my ordinary play and office to act the minister amongst my playfellows This I well remember, that I loved to do what I was appointed; and it was oft much more desirable to me than play to pursue some kind of studies that none knew of. And so I did collect out of several books that I found, an account of the natures of beasts and birds and trees, &c., which I have still by me, a grateful monument of youthful industry, though not done with that judgment that it might have been, and I might also have had the things nearer hand if I had had books that had more directly treated of the subject that way.

I was admitted, in the very heat of the wars, in May 10th, 1644, of St. John's College in Cambridge, pupil to that ingenuous, learned, and pious man Mr. Zachary Cawdrey, Fellow of that College. There was but nine admitted of that great College that year. And when I commenced Master of Arts, of that year there was but three commencers in our College. By reason of the troubles, I discontinued till the 10th May after, 1645, and then I went up to continue. It pleased God to give me good success in my studies, and to save me from the wretched corruptions of my heart and nature, and especially to preserve me wonderfully from the infection of ill company. It was at that time when there was a bitter feud between the old Fellows and the new; and indeed because most of the religious

were for the parliament and of the new Fellows' party, the other side did not so well distinguish as they should, but their difference went quite through, religion being as little favoured by many as the party was which they thought they had some reason to oppose. Yet it pleased God to cast me upon the civiler part of that party; and God did in those days begin to do my soul some good.

I was after a little while received to be sizar to Mr. Maisterson, who was after senior Fellow; and though, good man, he was distempered and jealous, and very suspicious of every one, and oft of his sizar, yet it pleased God to give me favour in his eyes, and I lived very comfortably in his service, and he was tender and respective to me. I had also an exhibition of £5 per annum conferred upon me before I came to continue, by the advisement of Mr. Barwicke, and procurement of my tutor Cawdrey; so that I had, by the good hand of my God upon me, much help towards my maintenance by this means. I was also afterwards Mr. Maisterson's proper sizar, which was a fine place, of little service and good help, as is known to be in that College.

I got much advantage when a school-boy, by hearing my elder brother and my uncle, Mr. John Watts, an able scholar and a great student, discourse of the main points of religion. Insomuch, that I had some insight into most things in divinity by this means; and I could have discoursed with the bachelors of my acquaintance when I came to the college: and after, when I came to understand things better, this former knowledge of these things was a great help to me.

In November, 1646, I was in motion to a Free School, which was worth, as they said, £30 per annum. One Mr. Maplesden, a great acquaintance of my uncle Williamson's, motioned me to it, and wrote with me to Sir Thomas Trollop, in Lincolnshire, who had the disposal of it: and there was no question made but I should have had it. And I had not so much wit as to understand my privilege in having time in the university; but I went down about it, and, by the good providence of God, the place was gone before my coming, and so I returned to my studies again. And I oft thought, that if I had gone then, I had been greatly prejudiced; for

my understanding did come more to me, and I thought I found more satisfaction in my study after that than ever I had done before, being just then come to study close, &c. And I must acknowledge God's fatherly providence to me in this thing; for though I did come out but raw, yet if I had come out now, I had been a very empty nothing, and could scarce ever have recovered any growth, being without any foundation at all to speak of.

I continued now this year, 1647. And it being the year I was senior sophister, I kept my public act the first term; in which Mr. Hotham was our proctor, and besides some other of his singularities, he made the sophisters to say their positions without book; and I did position so.

At the latter end of the year, having an invitation to Congleton, the place where my brother before had been, I accepted of it, though I have oft lamented my so early coming from the university. Yet who can tell whether my coming into acquaintance now this commencing year might not have been a greater prejudice, than the opportunity of study an advantage. However so it was ordered. And I came thither in September 24th, in the year 1647. At Candlemas after, I went up and took my degree of bachelor. Mr. Samuel Langley was then Fellow of Christ's, and he had just accepted of the parsonage of Swettenham in Cheshire; but now went up to Cambridge, and took up Mr. Thomas Leadbeater to be admitted, who was his pupil, at Christ's College. I was much at a loss for the religious company I had of him this journey, as hitherto not inured to such society. And then, on my return, my younger brother, Richard, came down with me, and went to school to me there whilst I staid.

As I came to Congleton again, though I thought not of it, nor in the least intended any such thing, yet upon the most importunate solicitations of Mr. Edward Turner, my fellow-pupil, with whom I lay at his father's house, at Little Dalby in Leicestershire, I was prevailed with to preach there my first sermon, on 1 Cor. x. 31; having prepared a discourse about God's glory, intending to expound the catechism in my school.

Not long after this I was entertained reader to Mr. Ley, at Astbury, (Mr. Murcot just then removing from him,) and shortly fell to preaching, — sometimes at Congleton, and sometimes at Astbury. I did at first pen my sermons every word, and made them in imitation of Mr. Lynford, (Fellow of Catherine Hall, who was a neat preacher and lecturer at All-hallows in my time,) and I read almost every word. I preached once before Mr. Ley, and he gave me very good counsel. He told me I took too much pains, (which was but his prudent insinuation, and dulcifying of his counsel to me,) put too much history into my sermons, the people came with Bibles, and expected quotations of Scripture; and also told me I must not use notes so much, adding Fortuna audaces juvat, and I knew not what my memory would do till I had tried it,—however, use legs, and have them. I took notice of his counsel, and then writ my sermons as before, but after spent a little time to contract the heads and hints at every remarkable hint into a little paper, and only took that with me into the pulpit; and found I could make a shift with that help only. In this course I proceeded till about a year after or more I was straitened for time at a baptizing sermon. I had written it, but had not time to epitomize it. I was loth to take the whole notes up with me; and so being sensible that the audience would not be great, I adventured without any notes at all, and found that assistance as to remembering the most material things, that I never ordinarily took notes with me into the pulpit after. I found the Lord helped me to remember; and it was a distraction to me to have notes in my book, for a thought of that help would ordinarily have made me distrustful where I needed not, and so hindered that freedom that otherwise I found in preaching.

On July 6th, 1648, I was married to Mrs. Elizabeth Manwareinge, daughter of Manwareinge of Smallwood. I was rash and inconsiderate in this change of condition, and sinned in that I took not that advice I should have took of my friends in it; and God might have made it sad to me and done me no wrong; but he very mercifully turned it into good for me. And for the matters of greatest concernment, I found a ready compliance in her to further me therein all that she could, as afterwards I may have occasion to recount.

On the 22nd of August this very year, I was ordained at Sandbach. I did not think of it, but casually asking Mr. Ley whether there would be an ordination or no, he told me there would, and asked me whether I would be ordained? I thought of it, and so entered upon examination. God gave me favour in their eyes, and, though young, they passed me, and I was solemnly set apart that day. Old Mr. Langley preached, and Mr. Ley managed the ordination. It was especially the great goodness of God that after he helped me so, in some poor measure, to improve that these good men repented not of their reception of me, but were dearly respective to me whilst they lived, and were not put to shame for me.

I was now in motion to Aldandley chapel in Frodsham parish, and thither went every Saturday for several weeks together; but the means proving unsettled, I was settled about Michaelmas this year at Goosetree, where it pleased God I had the unanimous consent of the whole chapelry testified under their hands, and there I preached a year and a half. The Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the whole people, and though the division was then high between the king's party and the parliament's, yet I had a fair respect from both sides. I was here first inured to private meetings with the good people here, which I took delight in, and had, I hope, much good from. And let not mine ever forget the kindness I received then from Henry Manwareing of Kermingham, Esq., my wife's near kinsman, by whose means I was brought in there, and much encouraged. When I wanted a convenient house, he appointed me some rooms at his own house of Kermingham, and was a very loving friend to me, and did me many courtesies towards my outward subsistence at that time; and did himself procure me Gawsworth by his interest, and laid down the money for procuring the broad seal for it, which was a great kindness to me at that time, when I had no other friend that was ready to have done the like for me. I have oft spread his kindness to me before the Lord, and have prayed that he would repay it, that he might some way fare the better for his love to me.

I had nobody to direct me in my studies, nor any books upon the

matter to employ myself in; but accidentally fell into a way of noting what I read after the way which Drexelius advises; in which I began when schoolmaster at Congleton, which I still carried on in the same book, whatever book I read. And so by the providence of God had lent me Dyke of the Deceitfulness of the Heart, Bolton his Four Last Things, Dr. Preston's Pieces of God's All-sufficiency, and some others, (none ever speaking of them to me, or commending them to me,) and I found them then great helps to my preaching, helping my understanding much in divinity, but especially my heart in either beginning or effectually blowing up a spark of good hidden there. And indeed I have found this course of noting wonderful beneficial to me; by which means, 1. I have some use of my former readings, without which I am well assured much of it must needs have been lost; and 2. this I observed, I have by this means got most from the books that were none of my own, for I was more diligent to read them, and did more faithfully note them, than I could well do any of my own, which the thoughts of reading when I pleased oft betrayed me to a total neglect of. But this I must acknowledge a mercy of God to me, that though I had so few books of my own, yet that I had such a supply from others, and that by this course I had such profitable use of those books I borrowed, that a greater library could not have been a greater advantage to me.

I came to Goosetree with my family November 23rd, 1648, and lived in some rooms of Francis Hobson's near the chapel half a year, and thence we removed to Kermencham, whence I went every Lord's day in the morning, and my good old father-in-law Mr. Peter Manwareing, on foot to Goosetree, and got thither in time, and preached twice a day, and was well able to do it, being then in my youth and strength.

December, 1648, whilst I lived at Goosetree, my cousin Roger Manwareing would needs go to Gawsworth (the park then being in the coheirs' possession) to kill a deer, and one he killed with the keeper's knowledge; but they had a mind to let the greyhound loose and to kill another that the keeper should not know of, partly to hinder him of his fees, partly that it might not be known that he

killed more than one. I was ignorant of their design, but had the hap to be one of the two that was carrying the other little deer off the ground, while the keeper came, and only took it and dressed it, as he had done the other, and sent it after them to the alehouse where the horses were. But I remember that the man said this word, that priests should not steal. I have oft after thought of it, that when I was parson of Gawsworth, and that Edward Morton the keeper was sometimes at variance with me, that he should never so much as remember that passage to object against me, which, though I could have answered for myself in it, yet it might have served the turn to have been retorted upon me when the Lord stirred me up to press strictness upon them. But the Lord concealed this indiscretion of mine, that it never was brought forth in the least to lessen my authority amongst them.

This January the 30th was his majesty Charles the First beheaded, which news came to us when I lived at Goosetree, and a general sadness it put upon us all. It dejected me much, I remember, the horridness of the fact, and much indisposed me for the service of the Sabbath next after the news came.

My first child, a daughter, was born at Kermencham in this time, on April 24th, and was baptized at Goosetree, by Mr. Cope of Sandbach, on May 4th, and, in remembrance of my own mother, grandmother, and only sister, all of that name, she was named Rose. She was inconsiderately nursed out by one Mary Yannys, who lived then at Dudley's house, a tanner, where it pleased God to bless her that she prospered well; though after we were sensible of the neglect of duty in not having her nursed at home, which made her mother resolved to endeavour to nurse, if the Lord gave her any more children.

Whilst I was at Kermencham I had some notable stirrings in my heart by reading Mr. Bolton's Four Last Things, and Dyke's Deceitfulness of the Heart, especially when I studied and preached myself on these four last things.

Towards the latter end of this summer, Mr. Langley being now newly married and having left his Fellowship, came to live at

Swettenham, (where he was parson,) and I sometimes had his society; but when I was further from him my heart was more united to him, and I could then have seen what use I could have made of his society and neighbourhood. Oft considering from this, and some other instances, that we oft want an heart to the prize in our hands. For when I might have been with him any day — 1. I wanted wit to improve his company; 2. Had no mind to it, finding him before me in every thing, and having some prejudice to close and strict living, for I thought he was of another spirit than I was, and his company was a check and reproof to me; yet his conversation was provoking, and did stir me up to study and emulation of him. I was then very young, and gotten among the gentry, and fancied fine clothes and foolishness; but the Lord was ordering for my humiliation, and he made it come upon me in his own good time.

Whilst I was here, December 17th, upon some illness of my wife, we took the custom of praying twice a day together, she and I; and I did the rather desire it upon the example of Mr. Bolton, (as I read of him,) that he prayed six times every day, twice in secret, twice with his wife, and twice in his family; and so I did henceforward, till having more children after some time, that my wife's rising and leisure was uncertain to join with me, and so that in the morning was omitted.

And here I may recount another strange prepossession that the Lord made upon me, and it was much of the same nature as this, but of longer standing. In the year 1646, when I had been two years at Cambridge, upon some working on my soul, (in that way that then, in the ignorance and heat of youthfulness, I was capable of,) I was induced to begin a diary. It was chiefly begun upon the occasion of hearing that Dr. Ward, (the late Master of Sydney, and Margaret professor in Cambridge,) had left a diary of his life in his study, from his being sixteen years of age. I thought it was a very brave thing to have such a thing left from so early a time of his life, and so set upon it. It is in my hands; and how strangely I took pains to set down my sins every day, and usually still the same, I have oft reflected upon. And certainly this great advantage it was

unto me, that several passages that I had quite forgotten, I found there after set down; and though, if I had had advice in the business, I might have set down some other things than I did, which are now quite past and gone, yet it was some restraint unto me sometimes. My scrutiny at night, would have awed me from idleness, and some other youthful vanities; and though oft corruption carried it notwithstanding, yet this fear of my own tribunal (as Seneca calls it) made me that I was a prisoner in my sin, and I had no pleasure in it, conscience having more power and hold upon me by this means. And though sometimes I intermitted this course for some days or months, and after I came into the country sometimes it was neglected, yet I could not be quiet till I had taken it up again. And though sometimes it was very sapless and empty, and I have thought it was to little purpose to keep it unless I put more in, yet I remember this thought oft prevailed with me to keep it up, that I knew not but that in time I might have something remarkable to set down, and so I did till I found the better use of such a custom; and it was after no small help to me to guess at the former frame of my heart, by what I had darkly described there.

On September 10th, 1649, I went with Col. Manwareing's two sons, Peter and Edward, to Cambridge, and admitted them under Mr. Pickering, Fellow of St. John's College, fellow-commoners. It appeared after that they spent more money in that degree they lived in than the colonel was well able to allow them, and it had been better for them, and easier for their father, to have had them pensioners, which I after was sensible of, and much grieved for. But it was want of wisdom that I could not forecast better in the case; though I did not understand that I was only relied on in the matter, but it seems I was. I oft prayed to God that he would take the prejudice off that my inadvertency occasioned. But I did never hear that it was imputed to me further. But it were good for young men to be sparing in advising in weighty matters, which they may see to their sorrow miscarry, when they have wit to see it, but cannot mend it. And young men usually are free of their counsels, and love to have their advice taken. Wise men are wary, and more advised. It is

hazardous credit to rule others' affairs unless it prove well. It is well for a man that his advice hath little credit till he is able to advise.

I did now visit Caldcot in my return; found both my elder brothers married, and in a prosperous way for the world. I preached at Caldcot (morning, Eph. v. 8; afternoon, Phil. i. 29) in that fashion that then I used to preach in.

At my return to Kermencham and to my business at Goosetree, I attempted to set upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and though I was raw and ignorant in those affairs, yet the Lord did wonderfully direct me and over-rule that whole affair, that I administered the sacrament to none that were not competently knowing, or that was known to be scandalous. Nay, at very first, we kept off Captain Baskervyle for his frequent drinking, and Mr. Kinsey we excepted against on the same account; and when letters passed between him and me, the Lord helped me to deal so plainly and yet affectionately with him, that at the last I got the better of him, and at the next sacrament he did before the whole communion promise to reform; which was more than many other congregations of stronger discipline and abler parts to manage it, could arrive unto of many years, men usually flying off, or flying in their faces, that were dealt with in this capacity; but the Lord did clean convince him, and whilst I stayed there he did reform, and held very friendly correspondence with me. Mr. Baskervyle stormed at first; yet I after writing to him in a mild and sincere manner, he was satisfied to keep off, (though I could rather have wished his coming on upon reformation,) and continued a loving friend to me ever after. This authority the Lord gave me when I was so weak and poor in my work as I then was. This sacrament was October 18th, 1649.

It was now in this year 1649, that Colonel Manwareing, having the interest of one of the coheirs of Gawsworth, moved to have me presented to that parsonage, it being void upon the death of Mr. Hutchins, the sequestered incumbent, two years before. Mr. Brookes was the parson at present, and though it was apparent he had no title after the death of the incumbent, yet the great care was

how to make a fair end with him, he being a man impetuous and clamorous where he was unsatisfied, and I looked upon it as impar congressus for me to grapple with him; and this was secretly our greatest let. But the providence of God had strangely ordered this business, that Mr. Brookes, out of dislike to the place and people, was resolved to leave, and some way having some hint of the colonel's intention for me, came over to Kirmencham and of his own accord moved the place to me, and offered his utmost assistance that I should succeed him, which I looked upon as a great encouragement, and a sign that there might be somewhat in the business. He very lovingly exchanged with me, and suffered me to go and preach in the place, and was true to me all along, and was not quiet till I was settled there. We had proceeded secretly in the way of a presentation from the coheirs, and several of them signed the instrument, and the rest gave their consent; and though after we found the living was in lapse to the broad seal, and were forced to go that way to work, yet this engaged the coheirs as friends, and was their express consent to my coming in. A long time the business was in agitation above before it could be despatched, it being the year of the commonwealth's commencing, and new forms of certificates I was put upon, and made to seek to such to certify with me, that I had little knowledge of. But it pleased God to give me favour in the eyes of those concerned, and my cousin Manwaring bestirred himself and made use of his interest with the gentlemen, and it was effected; also he employed his solicitor, Mr. Thornicroft, to transact the business above, and he was forced to give pretty largely to some; but yet, without my going up, he did at last procure the broad seal for the place; and after many remoras, (and thereby in my thoughts sentences of death upon the business,) at last the broad seal came down when I thought not of it, and the colonel, my true friend, disbursed the money for it. It was further very providential that just as Mr. Thornicroft had procured the seal, though it was so long in hand, Mr. Smallwood (since Dr. Smallwood) came to him to have engaged him to have taken that way for him for the same place, he having an antepresentation to it, but had elapsed his title,

and never made any claim unto it. Mr. Thornicroft showed him the broad seal just obtained for me, which satisfied him to desist. The broad seal being come, and Mr. Brookes giving up the place, we endeavoured to have had the people's hands to a petition to that purpose, but they refused most of them; and when Colonel Manwaring and I went on February 3rd thither, I intending to preach to them, they kept the doors locked against me and openly opposed me; and though they had none to preach unto them that day, we went to Maxefield, and that afternoon I preached there. And so, though I had the broad seal, yet I was resolved to let all go rather than to come in by force, and so a sentence of death was upon it again, and I was well satisfied to let it go. And it pleased God to move upon the people when I thought not of it, and they came some of the chief of them over to Carincham, on February 12th, and sent for me, and so told me they were desirous to have me before another, and so were unanimously consenting to me, and subscribed the petition, not knowing that the seal was gotten. The Lady Fytton had nothing to do with the parsonage, and yet the demesne was her jointure, and she was going to dwell there; and by the mediation of my good friend and kinswoman Mrs. Davenport of Marten, her sister, she was prevailed with to give her free consent too. And a very courteous respectful friend she was to me whilst she lived. And old John Swaine, a surly natured man when crossed, that most opposed me, after I came was so far reconciled to me that he was the first man that paid his Easter tithings, and gave me at harvest the leading of the first load of his tithe, and was friendly to me all the while I staid there.

And now I removed to Gawsworth on April 8th, 1650, with my whole family, and I vainly thought that I should now be satisfied, and could desire no more. I parted with the people at Goosetree lovingly on March 17th. They were loath to part with me, yet would not detain me, since the place was not a competence, and no house for me, &c. We had a sacrament together the last day, and I preached (and took leave) on that text Acts xx. 7.

Soon after I was settled at Gawsworth I preached two Lord's

days on Ezek. iii. 5, viz., on April 14th and 21st. The meditation and preparing of the sermons did much awaken me to a sense of the weightiness of my charge as a minister, much otherwise than ever before I had thought of. The next day I had the company of Mr. Hawys, with whom I had a deal of serious discourse, which did me a deal of good. I was also, by a strange providence, now in my studies upon Dr. Preston's works, having borrowed them some months before of Mr. George Belot that lived at Swettenham Hall; and it was vast advantage I received by those excellent books. But the greatest providence was that my dear brother Machin should now come in, and it was thus. When I was at Cambridge in September my cousin Fenton told me of him, and wished me to be acquainted with him. I had heard of his zeal and earnestness for religion before, but desired the opportunity of his acquaintance; and just now Mr. Stevenson of Alderley being gone to London upon the occasion of the marriage of Mr. Peter Stanley, had engaged me to preach at Alderley April 28th, for that day, I had wrote to Mr. Machin to come over to supply my place at Gawsworth. On the Saturday he came, and Nathaniel Banne with him, (who then was a sojourner with Mr. Machin.) I preached at Alderley on Gen. vi. 9, a more inward sermon than any I had almost preached before about walking with God. I remember some of my neighbours of Gawsworth would needs keep me company to Alderley, and one of them sware an oath, (I think I could go to the place where it was to this day,) and methought it sounded strangelier to me than ever before it had done. At night Mr. Machin repeated his sermon, and desired me to repeat mine, and I did. He staid with us till Tuesday, and I went with him on the way, and precious intimacy we were gotten into before we parted. This was the beginning of my acquaintance with that precious servant of the Lord, which after grew to the height of friendship and familiarity, and we were after joined in many a public service together to our great comfort.

On May 6th we went to see our old house-fellows at Carincham, goodman Dale and his family, now removed to Mere-house Green. When we came to Carincham they were shy of us, yet we had so

much loving cohabitation for the time that we were there, that there was great sorrow at our parting, and great friendship between us always after. When I was there I found much content in the good discourse I had with John Statham, and was loath to leave him. The next day Mr. Langley and his wife came to see us; and I have oft thought since how basely the devil disturbed my society with him, with the coming in of my brother Peter and Mr. Street, &c. Mr. John Ashenhurst, a mad fellow, was with me this evening; and the Lord helped me to speak seriously to him, and he was very pliable to my talk, and promised to take thought about it.

May 19th, we had a sacrament at Gawsworth, where all willingly came to be examined, though Mr. Brookes had utterly waived it; the lady herself both approving it and offering herself to be instructed by me. I spent several days before in taking account of the communicants to my information of their state, which was a direction to me how to preach after unto them. I did much desire that family-duty might be set up in the lady's family for example to the rest of the people, whose ignorance in the manner of the God of the land was very sad. Mr. Brookes had spent six years amongst them, and had, no doubt, preached precious things to them, and more ably than I could do; but by his great passions and contests with the people, he had lost the authority of his preaching, and he had little success with them. I told Mr. Machin my desires when he was over. He would needs stay in the evening with my lady, when he went to see her as her neighbour born, (Seabridge being near to Keele,) and did perform duty with her, which he said might make way for what I did desire. And it pleased God that upon nurse Locket's telling her that I was willing to come at ten and eight o'clock to perform duties with her and family morning and night, she readily embraced it; and now, May 21st, I began and continued it for a year or two every day, until I was more called upon to public preaching, that made it too burthensome unto me, and my body grew weak, &c., that I thought I might spend my strength or spare it to better advantage; but this exercise I continued a good space. I was sometimes here much troubled that some durst swear before me,

and I was humbled that I had not more authority and presence with me.

I remember Mr. Constable, a known famous epicure, that was a retainer to gentlemen, being a gentleman of a good family, and one that had spent a good estate; he was profane and very bad, yet was as civil and tame to me as could be. One time, from a sermon of mine wherein he was touched, he told Mr. Hawys that it may be I might think he was an atheist, but for his part he did believe there was a God, and that he ought to be served, &c., but he was forced to drink to please the gentlemen that maintained him. Another time, on a Lord's day at night in the winter, before prayers, he told the lady there was excellent ale at Broadh., and moved he might send for a dozen, some gentlemen of his gang being with him. I made bold to tell him that my lady had ale good enough in her house for any of them; especially, I hoped, on a Sabbath-day, she would not let them send for ale to the ale-house. The lady took with it, and, in her courteous way, told him that her ale might serve him; but, notwithstanding, after duties he did send, but durst not let it come in whilst I stayed. That evening, not thinking of any such thing, Mr. Hawys being there, we fell into some good discourse, that held us long walking under the window, whilst the other gentlemen stood at the fire. Mr. Constable longed to be at his ale, but durst not bring it in, but stood murmuring, "Will they never have done?" "What can they find to talk of all this while?" and the like. At last I took leave; and then he said, "Now, he is gone! fetch in the ale."

Henry, my son, was born on May 28th, 1650, very early in the morning, before or about sun-rising, my wife being speedily delivered of him. He was baptized June 7th by Mr. Cartwright, then minister at Bosley.

June 19th, I preached at Congleton, but was exeedingly ill, and came home exceedingly ill, and had a kind of a fever.

On July 15th, I went with my sister Dorothy to take leave of my cousin Unwyn, who was about to go a journey into his own country with his wife. I found their discontents so high, that I

concluded and spake it, that nothing but the power of religion could make them live like man and wife. Jealousy was gotten on both sides, and want of affection, &c. I desired him to impart his grievance and his thoughts to me, which he did; and I spent two or three whole days in the consideration of it, and wrote a large letter to him to divert him from some violent courses he was intending, and to persuade him to patience and peace.

The year that we married, and so the year after, were excessive dear years. We gave sixteen shillings an hoop for wheat, ten shillings for barley, between fifty shillings and three pounds for a load of malt, and so it put us behind for clothes. And now at Gawsworth I was forced to borrow money to get in my harvest, and it proved a very unseasonable year for it — continual wet, that increased the charge of getting the harvest in, and spoiled much of the corn. This very year, as I remember, I had eleven load of tithe corn out at Martinmas, and then corn fell to a low rate, that my troubles increased sadly upon me, and so continued. Yet I found great mercy in seasonable supplies that God still found some friend willing to lend me, and some way he found for my payment again.

Mr. Francis Smethwike (alias Major Smethwike) would needs come to table with us. We were unwilling, but their importunity was such that we could not deny, and so he came to us Nov. 12th this year. I knew him not, feared his averseness to religion, &c., but the Lord would have him with me. His design was for opportunity to the Lady Fytton, which he told me not till he was ready to leave me, having made earnest offers, but was very peremptorily repulsed, to his great discontent. But it pleased God by my preaching to work exceedingly upon him; and he was exceeding fine company for me, and I had much delight in him, and a very ingenuous sweet natured person he was, and a brave mathematician, &c. After he left me he went to London, and how far the bent of his heart stands after God still, I know not; but he was in a very sweet disposition of heart for some time after he had been with us, zealous against sin, and a lover of good people. He continued with me above a year. If he proves serious, I am confident he dates the

beginning of it hence; if not, I am sure what passed upon his heart here will witness to God to his honour another day. But indeed at that time I observed the Gospel had great power, and scarce anything that it encountered stood before it. I was always but too much tender of my reputation, and afraid of being under prejudice; yet when some counted me a cavalier, — a foolish distinction in the mouths of some, and almost discriminating from a child of God — I counted it no sin to be so persuaded in that controversy, and so was not concerned with it. Yet I was loath to draw suspicion upon me in this evil time by having the major to table with me, and feared I should, and so I found afterwards I did.

I had this summer a heart in some measure to the Lord's work, and it carried me out to endeavour to do good at Maxfield, where I preached not only at the exercise upon vacancies of supply, but also frequently on Mondays, to a great and attentive congregation, to my great satisfaction, and to the advantage of some souls.

December 16. At the giving over of the school at Macclesfield, I met with Mr. Leadbeater; the next night after he was with me at Gausworth, and then began our first acquaintance and christian society.

My acquaintance with Mr. Leadbeater now occasioned our going together to Seabridge this Dec. 31st, where I was mightily taken with the heat that I found for God in that family, Mr. Machin most dearly receiving me, (saying, after, when I said to him that I thought he looked not for me there, that he oft thought my heart would bring me to him at some time,) but I remember the good man said upon his kissing me when I came in, that Moses and Aaron were glad to see one another in their heart when they met near the mount of God. We went to prayer as soon as as we came in. But that night at Seabridge the pious way of putting out practical questions was mighty affecting to me, and edifying to see how ready they were to the work, and how eager of it, and how pertinently and feelingly all his sisters answered. Then began my acquaintance with that knowing and honest hearted christian Randle Sillito, who afterwards put up many a prayer to God for me and

mine, whom I loved in the truth, as one that feared God above many. This new year's day was so sweet, that we partly resolved to endeavour to meet at the same place every new year's day as oft as we could, and to keep it together either in public or private, and so we did some years, and had a special regard to that time, whilst we had converse together for that very day's sake. The next day we parted at Newcastle, where Mr. Cooke (now of Chester) preached, and I took leave after sermon and came homewards; called at Talk on the Hill, to desire notice to be given of Mr. Machin's intentions to preach in the neighbourhood some of the next days.

I was by Mr. Brereton of Wilmslow engaged to preach at the running exercise, and to analyse and preach the sermon. It was a work that usually they had put upon the gravest minister, and I would have declined it, but it was returned again upon me. I had oft experience of some things that I could have preached of, but durst not because unsuitable to the people, being insensible that any of my people were adequate to such discourses, and oft I turned off from such discourses upon this account, as Heb. v. 11, 12, but afterwards reflecting on these passages, I had occasion to insert this: "Blessed be God that hath since given way, that I have had auditors to preach the utmost that I could preach about holiness."

Before I could come into Gausworth, it was put upon that I must subscribe, or I could not have the presentation; and so I went to Chester, and on Christmas-day, 1650, I did subscribe, before Mr. Duckenfield and Mr. Birkenhead, before it was generally tendered in the county. I subscribed on a paper, and they certified under it, and it was sent away to London, no record remaining of it in the country; which I after saw as a providence, in that no notice was hereby taken of my doing it, and I believe my example was not occasion of any one's subscribing. I procured after a duplicate of the certificate, which remained with me. I always abhorred the practices of that party, but being ignorant, and not then so awakened (as after I was) I did it, especially eyeing my outward settlement by me; but I found this sin met me after my great comforts at Seabridge, January 2nd, being in great trouble about it as I came

home, and it was long on my heart as one of my great transgressions. But this I then resolved on — that I would do nothing as an engager till resolved on the lawfulness of it. And so indeed never upon my own score did I own it. I never told any one of it but my dear friend Mr. Crosdail about this time, as the matter of my trouble. I did with some reluctancy once show the certificate to recover some moneys from the sequestrators upon another's interest. But, upon my real repentance for it, I looked always upon myself as a non-engager.

On February 13th, my dear brother Machin came again to Gausworth to me, and we kept the next day in private, and on the Saturday he preached the preparation sermon for the sacrament, and on the Lord's day, being February 16th, we had a sacrament at Gausworth, wherein, he joining with me, we very indiscreetly enlarging ourselves to particular states, kept the sacrament mighty long. It was the height of our zeal, though afterwards I was troubled for and sensible of the imprudence of so doing. The next day, February 17th, came Ra. Shelmerdine and Edmund Percival, two kinsmen of mine, from Manchester to see me. On Tuesday, February 18th, Mr. Machin and I preached at Holmes Chapel. The very next Lord's day after, I began on that text of Deut. xxxii. 29, which the Lord made use of, to several souls that hold out to this day, and would oft date their first awakening from that subject. I preached it at Newcastle March 6th, for we were over again on that side, and had two or three very sweet days with my brother Machin; and on my return the Lord's day after, being March 9th, I went on with it, and Major Smethwick, then in my house, was greatly affected with it, and began at that time to be serious; he used to call it his birth day. What he built upon that foundation after he went to London I know not; but I had, whilst he tarried in the country, much joy in, and sweet and cordial society with him. March 16th, I preached on it at Holmes Chapel. The next day, March 17th, was the first discovery of any work upon my sister Dorothy's heart, but from this day she hath continued in the profession. The Thursday, March 20th, I preached at Goosetree, lay at Barneshaw all night, was now

gotten very weak, and had real apprehensions that I should not recover; and I remember, in thoughts of my poor wife and children, I now turned to the wall and wept. Mr. Leadbeater came over to me, and was with me some days to divert me, if it might be.

April 9th, I went to Newcastle to meet my brother Anthony, who had a promise of one Rawlins to lend me twenty pounds if he would be bound with me, which he was willing to be. He was got before me, and before I got thither Rawlins had arrested him for twenty pounds he owed him, and had only devised this way to get him thither to lay his debt upon him. It was a strange surprise. Yet it pleased the Lord to help me to get bail for him, that I got him home with me, and we had both of us just money enough to pay the present fees for his release, not above threepence between us left. This was a grievous exercise, a disappointment, trouble, disgrace, and more put me upon to pay; instead of having twenty pounds to satisfy other engagements, I was forced to provide twenty pounds within a little space, which I owed to my brother Anthony, to pay this.

In the beginning of this month of May there were some soldiers quartered about us, some of them very zealous good men. Captain Merriman lay at Sutton, and several of the soldiers being at the church on the Lord's day, the Captain on the Monday came to see me, and after I went to see him; and the truth is, they were so spiritual and inward, and such taking company to me, that it is a mercy I was not ensnared by them, for they were high Independents, and were, I remember, talking of embodying the saints, &c. I have thought of the merciful providence of God, that the Thursday after Mr. Hollinworth and Mr. Meek preached the exercise at Macclesfield, and Mr. Hollinworth's exemplary humility and familiar condescension to me did hugely take me, and he even then did notably balance my conceit of the army, speaking freely of their desperate designs, and how such devices could not be carried on but by such pretences, and he instanced in the rebellion of Corah, &c. This was exceeding seasonable, and stopped me betimes, that I never came nearer to them; but by their zeal I might easily have been drawn

aside. And another mercy I have oft thought at and acknowledged, that Major General Harrison was once on his way from Newcastle on purpose to have seen me. And this might have puffed me up, he being then in his greatness; and he was a most insinuating man, and a furious Separatist, (his authority and interest once drew a dear brother of mine, when at London with him, to keep from the public congregation, and to keep the Sabbath with him in the way of separation,) but the Lord would not suffer me to be tempted, for he was some way hindered, and I never was acquainted with him, nor ever saw him. Yet this thing I must never forget, of the caution that the captain gave me in my own house when he came to see me, which was, that in my future course I should observe this, of all things to take heed of prosperity as the most dangerous condition I could be in for my soul. I have thought and spoke of it since, and believe it to be a great truth.

May 15. I went out of a desire of spiritual communion over to Swettenham to see Mr. Langley, and had some sweet converse with him.

May 20. I met my brother Machin at Chedleton in Staffordshire, where he was prepared to preach on Eccles. xii. 1, and I on Deut. xxxii. 29; and the Lord provided that day a funeral of a sufficient man in the parish, which made our discourses more suitable, and a very glorious day it was unto us, and the beginning of many another that I had with him and other brethren in those poor desolate dark moor-lands. It was in these days ordinary for my brother Machin and I to know what public or private days we were to keep, though asunder, where we did by promise faithfully endeavour to remember one another. Brother Machin was at a private day at Teane with our dear poor (yet rich) friend Randle Sillito; and I could not but acknowledge that I fared the better in my soul for their prayers.

I was now oft in my straits for want of money, and when I had got up in a morning the cares about it would have unfitted me for any business, and usually I sought the Lord to help and direct me; and when I had thought of any likely way of supply I have written

such a way, and when I had so done I used to be very quiet and go about my business till I had received the answer; and whether it succeeded or no, it was a present ease to me to have gone the probablest way to work that I could. And I do remember that when my heart had been bitterest about my wants and troubles, (as sometimes it was very sad indeed with me,) the thoughts of being an instrument of winning a soul did so rejoice me, that I forgot my poverty, and could remember my sorrow no more, (Prov. xxxi.) It would have hugely lightened me at any time. This contributes to Dr. Harris's observation, "That oft preachers, humbled by afflictions, converted most souls; not the choicest scholars whilst unbroken."

On Sabbath, June 8th, it was an high day at Gausworth, — a sacrament day. And Roger Hough of the Oak, came as he confessed to see a friend, but thought of hearing me by the way; and he came with a mighty outcry after sermon, and told me how he had been deceived and how he was troubled, and thought my eye was all day upon him in the church, whereas I did not remember that I had seen him. I gave him what counsel I was able. He was father to Mr. Edmond Hough, who very strangely being now at school with Mr. Street at Congleton, unknown of anything of his father, heard that I was now within a little while to go to Cambridge, came this very week, on the Wednesday, June 11th, to desire he might go in my company, which I embraced, and his father with much affection; and so when I went, he got ready and went with me. His father went to Manchester and bought him clothes of Mr. Francis Worthington, who was his cousin. He offered to write with him to his brother Dr. Worthington, which I caused Roger after to go for. And so he went with me when I went up to commence Master of Arts, and was admitted of Jesus College; where he after fell in with the good young scholars that were there engaged in a meeting, (set on foot by precious Mr. Machin when there,) and very soon was eminently wrought upon, continued Bachelor, and the Doctor owned him for his kinsman. He was chosen Fellow when junior Bachelor, continued there till near B.D., standing in good repute for learning and religion, and went

out of his Fellowship on August 24th, 1662, though since he hath conformed; but a precious soul he hath been, and is. Thus signally proved I acquainted with, and related to Mr. Hough.

My brother, John Newcome, about two years and a half elder than I, died about this time.

It was now my time to commence Master of Arts, and on June 19th, being Thursday, I set from Gausworth, with Edmond Hough and my man. We went towards Cambridge on the Tuesday, June 24th, and came thither seasonably, met my brother Richard at the bridge, who conducted us to our inn, and that night I had the sweet and intimate spiritual society and fellowship of my dear cousin Fenton; and this night very providentially was Mr. Worthington, Master of Jesus, come home, to whom I had letters for Hough, and so the next day I despatched his business, and he was admitted of that College; and strangely it was ordered that he was forced to go down again with his horse, though shortly he went up again to continue. My mind was much kept off my degree, being hugely carried out at this time to the matters of the soul. On the Saturday I was admitted in the Regent House. That afternoon my cousin Fenton forced me out to Depden, and there I preached the next day, being June 29th, which morning my brother Thomas being come from London, he with my brother Richard came after us thither, and we spent the Sabbath together very comfortably, and the next morning we were at Cambridge at the commencement. Dr. Whitchcot, the provost of King's, was vice-chancellor; Croyden of Trinity, and Wells of Queen's, proctors. Mr. Croyden being away, ingenious Mr. Templer, his vice-proctor, acted as junior proctor at the commencement. Dr. Cudworth, then master of Clare Hall, kept the Doctor's Act on Monday, Mr. Cradock of Emanuel the B.D. Act on the Tuesday. Old Dr. Collins was then alive, and sat in the chair. There were four commenced Doctors in Divinity, (Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Sclater, and Dr. Bryan of Coventry — his brother Mr. Bryan of Cambridge being mayor of Cambridge this year,) Mr. Fuller of our year, of Christ's, Prevaricator. I remember this further, that when

we came to be admitted on Tuesday, we were still called in our seniority, and I expected still when I should have been called; and they put our College last, and there being but three commencers, and I was the senior of them in the College, yet they called me the last, so that I was the junior of all the year upon the roll. I thought it was a kind of a temptation to me, but I was not much concerned with it. I had at this time acquaintance with precious Mr. Beverley of Trinity, and Sir Evans and Sir Lovell of Jesus; had some discourse with Sir Robinson, my old friend of St. John's. But now on July 2nd I left Cambridge again and came to Caldcot; I spent this piece of a week with my friends. On the Saturday, being weak in body, my eldest brother would needs have me advise with Dr. Bowles at Oundle, and when we came there he was very civil to me and did give me direction; but my brother himself had more need, having gotten a pitiful cold, insomuch that he ordered him to be blooded the next morning for fear of breaking a vein; and it was very providential that we went to Oundle this day upon his account. I preached again at Caldcot the next Lord's day; and on the Tuesday, being July 8th, I set forwards towards home; my uncle Mr. John Watts and my brothers Thomas and Richard brought me part of my way that morning. I remember that my uncle Watts hinted to me that he thought, now my brother John was dead, some more of us might haply go too, for oft when mortality comes into a kindred it takes away more than one; and I guessed then that he might think at me, who was the weakest of the number, though my eldest brother was ill now, and my brother Thomas had then a very ill cough. Yet it hath pleased the Lord to spare us thus much longer, it being [i.e. 1665] fourteen years since. Sure I should reflect upon this with much thankfulness. And this I have further observed to the praise of God in this journey, that there was scarce any of my old friends that I met with but I found them changed as well as myself—as my cousin Daniel Wigmore of Stamford; we had a deal of sweet converse, and fell into that intimacy, upon the best account, that several affectionate letters passed betwixt us for a considerable space after this time, and that upon the score of the soul. My dear tutor Mr.

Cawdrey I called of at Langor, and found him very sweetly disposed, and we were greatly refreshed in company one with another. The same day I called at Nottingham, hearing that Mr. Grant was usher of the school there. I sent for him, and I found him strangely altered too; and this was the beginning of a dear most intimate league between him and me to the day of his death. Indeed he feared the Lord above many, and was a most cordial friend to me. He soon wrote after me, and provoked me to communicate my thoughts in these affairs, and I wrote as freely back. He came twice to see me at Gausworth afterwards, and was a friend that stuck closer to me than a brother.

I came to Leeke, Thursday July 10th, and there met me my wife, and all my neighbours from Gausworth. We had the pains of Mr. Steele, Mr. Moore, and my brother Machin, at Leeke this day; and after sermons we came home with great joy and comfort. My cousin Unwyn met me at Leeke also; and soon after my return, viz., July 15th, I preached at Talke at the baptism of his son Simon.

Aug. 10th, we heard of his majesty, with his army, being in Lancashire. On Monday, having before appointed it, we went to Clough-house; and my cousin Unwyn and his wife went with us the next day to Newcastle, where we kept a private day at Capt. Burslam's. We went back to Clough-house at night. The next day Mr. Machin, Mr. Moore, and I, preached at Stoke. That night we went thence to Leeke, and preached all three the next day there. As we went over those moors in the night, my horse only of all the company fell; and so I was only delivered in that I only fell, that was my present thought of it. The Lord's day before was my brother Machin at Drayton, when the fire broke out there that morning, being the wakes day; and he saw the fire one of the first, being early up. It consumed a great part of the town, and was conceived to have begun by their ale-house preparations for the wakes. A sad forenoon it was. He preached to the afflicted people, (as I have heard say,) on that of 1 Sam. xxx. 6. We came safe home to Gausworth on Thursday night.

At this time came some friends of my lady's to Gausworth, Mr.

Archbold and some others, that were very atheistical in their talk and carriage. The old gentlewoman was a sectary, and on the Lord's day pulled out her sewing, and said, Why might she not sew that day as well as another? Whether it was her hateful apostacy, having been a professor, or the positive profaneness of the rest of the company, that gave offence to the poor lady, but I never after could find any inclinations in her towards religion, as before I hoped I did discern; but her respect to me upon that account grew lower, till I became almost a stranger unto her. But so easily do they make an end, that have not a root in themselves. Something also helped this forward in that some at Brereton told her she would turn round-head shortly, for they heard she wrote sermons. Upon this she left that usage, and was afraid to be accounted religious. The armies now passed this week through Cheshire, yet none reached us further than to fetch in provision. On Aug. 21st, some soldiers quartered with us one night, being a party marching after the king's army.

Aug. 26th, Mr. Machin and I preached at Auderley, and the next day we went to a private day at Clough-house. That morning I was sent out with a grievous clog on me, my wife laying it on me that she did not go with us, which I was not against, but did not industriously promote as I might have done. This was a great pressure to me, and I thought I should be fit for nothing this day; but coming thither the Lord helped me, by my pressure to seek to him for comfort. I called that place Bethel, and that room goes by that name among us to this day, — the place where God so wonderfully appeared to me. And I have oft found that in the greatest distresses, he hath come most in with inward comforts in duties. The next day we went to Audley to have heard Mr. Porter; and when we came there we found he was not come, and so were forced both of us to preach, and the Lord did enable us exceedingly.

I thought it a great mercy at this time, when on a Lord's day after a sermon, we all betook ourselves in ordinary into secret, and I could think that we four, my wife, sister, Mr. Smethwicke, and I, were all praying for one another. I may from this, and such like

passages, join in the observation of Dr. Harris, That the Lord exercised him with his wife's sickness at the beginning of his ministry, by which he laid him flat on the ground, and it made him fitter for his work.

The very day after the battle of Worcester I met with that Scripture which I meditated of, and found comfort from as to myself, (Psalm cxliv. 10,) which was hugely verified at that very time in the preservation of his majesty. Sept. 16th, Rose fell sick of the small-pox, which proved an easy and merciful visitation. Blessed be God!

The battle having been at Worcester Sept. 3rd, by exchange I preached at Sandbach; Sept. 7th, by the invitation of my cousin, G. Manwareing, at Actclayd. The poor Scots were miserably used in the country, and so many of them put into the church at Sandbach that we could not preach in it; but I preached in the church-yard, both ends of the day, to a great congregation.

Sept. 19. I went with old Roger Hough (that kept me company) to see Manchester, the place were my grandfather (my mother's father) was born, where I found some remains of kindred that made much of me; and then I little thought that ever I should have come to have my habitation and work there. But just at that time were Mr. Heyrick in prison at London, and Mr. Hollinworth, Mr. Angier, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Meeke, &c., in prison at Liverpool, upon suspicion of some correspondence with the king in his going through the country; and they were just in cleansing Manchester church from the nastiness the poor imprisoned Scots had left it in.

Sept. 27. I had been sadly tossed this week with outward wants for some present urgent occasion, which much afflicted me and laid me very low. All endeavours I expected supply from failed. Yet this day the Lord did help me; unexpectedly and unlooked for, this evening my eldest brother and brother Richard came to Gausworth to see me, which did refresh me wonderfully and filled me with joy.

It was the great love that was raised at our being together this summer in my going to the commencement, that brought them down to me at this time. I parted with them on Wednesday morning at

Newcastle, after a private day at Mr. Sonds' the day before. And that day they went we had a day in public at Newcastle, where Mr. Leigh, Mr. Taylor, (a blind man,) and Mr. Moore preached. We had intended the next in private at Seabridge, but having help ready Mr. Sonds gave notice to keep the next day in public again, (like the doubled Passover, 2 Chron. xxx.); and Mr. Moore, I, and Mr. Machin preached that day to a great congregation: and the next day we kept at Seabridge till noon, some having sat up in prayer all night. And I remember Mr. Taylor prayed that our people might feel our hearts so raised the next Sabbath that they might say, Where hath our minister been this week? And truly we found it for our parts at Gausworth, the Lord beginning the Sabbath with the greatest enlargement in our family that we had ever till then met with, and the whole day was near heaven with us. O, what days were these! What glorious days of the Son of Man! Are we wiser, or worse, or what is it, that we desire not after the same comforts now? And what a sadness is it that the door of such opportunities is so sadly shut against us, as at this time it is!

Nov. 1. I was hugely troubled at several burthens that were upon me, and I resolved I would so write to Mr. Leadbeater and tell him all.

I began to think about this time what a while I had lived near old Mr. Langley, and had never had any intimacy with him, and how it would trouble me if the Lord should take him away and I a stranger to him, and so I resolved to make a journey on purpose to see him; and on Jan. 29 I got up betimes, and called of his son at Swettenham, and we went together to Middlewich to see the good old man, who made me very welcome, and I had a sweet entrance into a very intimate acquaintance with him, which lasted till I removed to Manchester, he dying the first year after my coming thither in the year 1657. A precious friend and father he was unto me upon all occasions after this while he lived. At this time my great ambition to see Mr. Langley, Mr. Angier, Mr. Ambrose, and Mr. Baxter. The two first I entered now into acquaintance with. Precious Mr. Ambrose, when I came to be settled in Lancashire, I

fell into intimate acquaintance with. Mr. Baxter I have had several letters from, though I never yet saw him; but the result of my heart may satisfy me, as it did at this time, about this thing. I longed to see Mr. Angier; and how do I long to see Mr. Ambrose and Mr. Baxter. Why, what a confluence of precious saints will there be in heaven! my delight here is in the saints, and in those that excel. The very same desire carried me out to go to Manchester to the ordination of Mr. Ottiwell, (then minister at Chelford,) that I might be acquainted with Mr. Angier; and Mr. Illinworth made me acquainted with him and Mr. Harrison too. I found then a mighty desire to know good men; and I had something to enquire their counsel and help and prayers about, which made their company advantageous to me. Mr. Hollinworth's company I had that evening, (February 15th,) and the next day called of old Mr. Johnson of Stockport as I went home, and at Alderley met with Mr. Binghall of Acton; and was greatly refreshed with this acquaintance with these eminent men. I was providentially brought to Mr. Worthington's house, and lay there these two nights in Manchester; and much comfort the Lord after gave me in that family when I came to live in Manchester, where I was now so kindly entertained. But my affections were more lively then than they are now for the good of souls.

On Feb. 16th, I went to visit Mr. G. Steele at Sandbach, whom I heard to be sick.

About this time the Lord gave me much success in my ministry, and there were many affected with the Word, and began to make a very hopeful profession, both in my own parish and in the neighbourhood of those that came to our congregation. But Satan envied us, and assaulted us very dangerously. The first assault was by the Independents. William Barret, one of the elders at the gathered church at Stockport, a busy pragmatical man, was strangely brought over to a private meeting in our parish, and it must be a day of conference; and I was then little versed in any controversies, and yet insensible then of the hazard I ran in permitting that meeting; and I clearly saw it was his design to have set on foot his own tenets

amongst us to our disturbance. It pleased God when we met to direct me, or indeed rather by his own hand to act me, that I kept off all matters of controversy and put on according to the then present temper of my heart to discourse of inward and spiritual things, tending to the holiness of conversation, which they could not for shame decline, and so the time was spent to advantage, — at least, the prejudice was hereby prevented; and, at last, I understood his design was to have conferred about church membership: but we were fairly rid of him by this means for this time. But some of the people about Macclesfield hankering this way, and Mr. Stringer (being wavering, at least willing at this time to be gracious with that party,) was put on to invite Mr. Eaton to preach at the exercise at Macclesfield, and, very unadvisedly, desire him to bring some one with him, to supply for both parts of the day. Mr. Eaton writes to him that he was willing to come himself, and that some of their people had solicited their ruling elder, Wm. Barret, to preach there, and, if he pleased, he would bring him with him for the other. Mr. Stringer (upon my dealing with him, when I heard of it,) professed he was surprised with it, and thought only he would have brought some minister of their way to join with him; but not daring to disoblige them, he very weakly consents, and gave Wm. B. an invitation. And great boasting there was of it by the unsettled hankering party, and great expectation of some great acquest by it. The Lord helped me to declare my dislike to Mr. Stringer about it. And being in a strait what to do, I wrote to my faithful friend and counsellor Mr. Langley, and desired his advice; and upon it, (though I desired to have heard Mr. Eaton, yet because of his conjunction with Wm. B.) I took occasion to go over to Swettenham that day, and spent it in conference with Mr. Langley. This was a manifest declaration of my dislike to this gifted man's preaching. And the Lord was pleased to defeat their design, for his preaching was nothing taking. Some bluntly told him his sermon would have done well if there had been a curtain before him; and some others of the aldermen of the town took it so ill that a sequestrator should preach in their pulpit, that none would own his invitation; and some of the

forwardest for his coming, did after say they hoped it would appear they had no hand in bringing him thither. The day that he preached here was March 4th, 1651. And this very business proved the breakneck of their design; and, through the mercy of God, they never gained one member from us, nor ever after had any opportunity to disturb us: but the people were settled hereafter, and kept close unto us.

The other trouble I had was with an erroneous fellow, one Harrison, that had been amongst my people this summer before, and began to infuse very dangerous tenets amongst them, subverting the faith of some. Strange things he insinuated to draw them off ordinances, &c. In process of time one of the neighbours brought him to me, and abundance of discourse I had with him, and he asserted desperate blasphemous things — as that the soul within a man was God, and that there was neither heaven nor hell but in a man's own self, and some other things very gross. Several neighbours were by that took notice of the expressions. He still continuing to hinder the work of the people's souls, and prevailing with some to turn off with him — I, having had (upon the coming of it out in the beginning of that year) an act sent me, against blasphemous tenets, by my friend Mr. Thomas Parnell, then living at London, only for the novelty of it, without which I might haply never have thought to have inquired about any such thing; but having this act by me, and seeing that several of his assertions fell under it directly, I did seriously, out of design to remove him from my people, make complaint of him to the justices at their month's meeting, and Mr. Stanley and Col. Hen. Bradshaw, upon our depositions in the case, granted out a warrant for his apprehension; and after a time it was executed, and Harrison was committed to the prison at Chester, where he was to suffer six months' imprisonment. Some of my people moved me to have withdrawn prosecution; but I did it out of conscience for their souls' safety, and so did resolve to proceed. It was at such a time, when such men had so many abettors, and ministers were so slighted, that some more wise men pitied my undertaking, and thought I made a great adventure in such an offer.

I foresaw not the danger, and never felt any; but I looked on duty, and God stood by me. He lay in prison till the assizes, which was April 19th, Mr. Crew of Crew being high sheriff, and my tutor Cawdrey preaching that time before the judges. The judges were Mackworth (deputy for Bradshaw) and Fell the puny judge. I went to Chester and waited there till Friday, and nothing was said about Harrison. At the end of the assizes on Saturday, when I was gone, one Mynshull, a pragmatical fellow, and some others, by an habeas corpus brought Harrison before the judge, by the help of Mr. Gerrard of Crew and the connivance of Colonel Croxton. The judge remitted him by word of mouth to the sessions, to have his cause heard by a full bench of the justices, and they to do in it as they saw good. The sessions were to be at Middlewich on the Tuesday after, being April 27th. Mr. Stanley (I dare say sufficiently frighted) sent to me on the Lord's day to make ready all the evidence I could, and to appear in the case at the sessions. I sent a special messenger to Mr. Bradshaw, who had not else known of it, and being remote, had not else been at the sessions. Harrison's party had got a warrant to serve some of his favourers, to invalidate the testimony given by us; but it was signed only by Mr. Gerrard, Colonel Croxton refusing to sign it, and so it signified nothing; but they served it as it was, and the men came willingly. Now all men almost forsook me, as being upon the pikes and touchliest point of the times; but the Lord stood by me, and moved honest Mr. Crosedail that morning of his own accord to come and call of me, and went with me to Middlewich. Just as I came thither I met Colonel Bradshaw at Town's end, who told me he had not come but for my letter, and I was much encouraged by his resolution, for he said he had done nothing but what he could justify, and he was resolved to stand or fall in it. Nicholas Higinbothom was deputy states-attorney at that time, and though I had never seen him before, as soon as ever the bench was set he fell on with the business as attorney, complaining that one Harrison was justly committed to prison, and he understood he was at liberty, at least out of durance, in the town there, and desired, therefore, in the behalf of the commonwealth, that it might be known by what

authority he was there. And so he was presently called, and the jailer that brought him, and they must show their order for bringing him to that court, whereby they were empowered to take any cognizance of the case. The jailer had no written order, but by word of mouth from the judge, and so he had much ado to escape a fine for bringing a prisoner out upon a verbal order. But by this time the deputy governor of Chester, one Smith, and Mr. Sclater, a gallant spark, a fanatic preacher, and several of the high flown blades, were come to abet this Harrison. The matter was put off till after dinner. At dinner poor Mr. Crosedail and I (unwittingly to us) but out of design on their part, was sent for up to Mr. Davenport the under sheriff's table to dine there, where, unknown to us, were this Smith and Sclater, and all Harrison's friends, the under sheriff being, I doubt, privy to the design of circumventing me if they could. We were no sooner set down but they presently began to speak about Harrison as if they had been strangers to the matter, and Mr. Davenport very unworthily pointed them as if I knew what the matter was. I very simply spake what I thought in the business; but they were as fiery as I was ignorant, and so betrayed their partiality by catching at me, and falling very bitterly upon me. Mr. Steele, the bailiff itinerant, at the bottom of the table, whispered to me (though I was a stranger to him) that they were all my adversaries, which hint was a seasonable caution to me. But after dinner we went all to the court together. The governor and Sclater appeared in court; and Sclater began in a set speech, and after a deal of impudent high stuff, he said, in behalf of Harrison, that he would defend it against all the classes and synods and priests, &c., that the soul of man was more than a mere creature. This speech was received with so much abhorrency by the justices — they being a full bench of fine gentlemen (viz. Mr. Brereton of Ashley, Mr. Thomas Manwareing, Colonel Henry Brooke, Mr. Marbury, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Bradshaw; all these right in the business; Colonel Croxton was wavering, and Mr. Gerard downright for Harrison; for I remember when I was speaking in the case, he thought he nettled when he passionately reflected, and said, it was well, whilst I was so zealous, if I were a friend to

the state). But the justices, for this word's sake of Mr. Sclater's, would hear no more of the business. Mr. Brereton said — "Mr. Sclater, do you think we will sit here to have such an assertion made and abetted before us?" And so they forthwith remanded the prisoner back, and fell to other business. Smith, the governor, came after to the bench, and excused his being there, and desired it might not be interpreted as if he came to hinder or question the justice of their proceedings, and professed himself satisfied with what they had done, &c. This Mr. Stanley told me afterwards; and yet in the inn both Sclater and he ranted highly against the justices. But Harrison was sent back, and endured in prison his six months; and it proved a means of our utter riddance of him out of our parts.

June 3rd, 1652. Mr. Hollinworth and Mr. Angier preached the exercise at Macclesfield, and it was mighty taking to me; and I found this the wish of my heart, that I could be content to have none but old men to preach. At my first conversion I thought very few to be of my spirit — few right; and was wont sinfully and simply to tax ancient ministers for formality. But now, I bless God, I do exceedingly honour them, and prefer them, and count myself least of all.

Sabbath, June 20. Mr. Cartwright being gone to Cambridge to take his degree of Master of Arts, in the afternoon I supplied for him at Bosley, and it was the saddest time of thunder and lightning that ever almost I had observed. And it was this day and this time that the Lord struck so many at Lawton that eleven or thirteen were buried together the next day. I preached at a fast for rain the next Tuesday after at Northenden, and the next day went to Manchester to see Dr. Worthington; dined with him at Mr. Thomas Illingworth's, and there dined with us Mr. Tilsley; and thus I was with those this day that afterwards I became related to, and entirely intimate with sundry of them.

Sabbath, July 4. I was now greatly perplexed and exercised with my uneven condition in the world.

On July 5th, I was to go into the moorlands to preach, and went over the side of the Cloud. As I came by it, I remembered that

when I was a school-boy at Congleton, being fetched to an house of one of my school-fellows, I had spent part of a Lord's day on that mountain; and when I came to Congleton the next morning and was asked where I had been the day before, I remember I sinfully bragged that I went to Bosley in the forenoon, and to the Cloud in the afternoon; and even then my conscience told me I did not well.

Aug. 28. My brother Ashmole came to Gawsworth to see my father-in-law and us. It was the first time that ever I saw him. A deal of delightful company I had with him, and from that time a very cordial friend and relation of him. He stayed in the country about a month, and was often with me. He went whilst he was with us to Buxton, to view all the rarities of the Peak; and went daily a simpling in the mountains and mosses about us. He left us Oct. 23rd.

I was now mightily concerned at people's swearing petty oaths, or taking the name of God in vain. As I came home that day in the company of Mr. Hough, I was troubled for a woman in Congleton that said, By our Lady; though I was not certain whence it came, yet my heart urged upon reflection that I might have gone and asked whether she spake that word or no, and to have told them it was a sin. That since I have not been exercised this way I conceive hath been, 1. My being here at Manchester amongst a people better taught, and not used to such lapses, one rarely hearing any to swear; 2. In that I have thought there are greater things amiss usually where these trifling words are.

Oct. 15th, Friday. I had at night a very pretty (and it proved a profitable) dream. It was that I was upon some narrow wall (I fancied Chester walls) where I could not go, it was so very narrow my head being very dizzy, and so I lay in the agony of the apprehensions of being ready to fall, and this thought came in, — This is but a dream.

Oct. 29th, Friday. About three of the clock, afternoon, my wife fell in labour. I went and prayed for her, as I used to do; and while I was praying, and thinking what sins God might now call to remembrance, even while I was speaking in prayer, my sister

called at the door and told me that she was delivered of a son. In prayer after with my wife, I was directed among other things to ask this of God, That he would provide mercy for the child's going out of the world as he had for his coming in. (As poor Daniel lay a dying Feb. 9th, Saturday, $168\frac{3}{4}$, past thirty-one years of his age, after I had prayed with him and my son Henry, I had this passage strangely brought to mind, of what was begged for him at his birth with respect to his death; and I pursued it in my heart for him at that time.) And from the remembrance of the Lord's dealing with me, as with his servant, (Dan. ix. 20, 21,) though I had before thought of another name, I fixed upon the name of Daniel for him. He was baptized Nov. 10th.

My sister Dorothy, on Dec. 6th, went from Gausworth towards London. I brought her to Stone the first day's journey. She went to my brother Ashmole, who very lovingly ordered her coming up, and provided for her; and she was from us several years. The Lord shewed us much mercy in providing so comfortably for her outward condition, and especially in that he kept her on in the good way for her soul, in that she was a frequent hearer of Mr. Ash, and of the communion with him, by a certificate I procured her from Mr. Langley. She returned again to us improved, and not impaired in religion.

On Jan. 19th, $165\frac{3}{3}$, I preached at Congleton exercise; and, it being late, went that night to Rownar to Capt. Alcock's, being engaged to preach the next day at Chedleton in the moors. It was soon late. I knew not a foot of the way, and it was uneven and dangerous; yet the Lord strangely preserved me to Horton, and there Mr. Edge very kindly sent a guide with me. I was out two or three days at employment here in the cold moors, but the Lord preserved me from harm, and gave me comfort in my work. Some one was promised to have joined with me at Chedleton, but came not. This made me think that it was my over forwardness to venture on such a journey at such a season, when no one else would.

This whole year of '52 there died never a one in the parish of Gausworth, — which I observed to the people. Several families I

did visit, and had much encouragement in it; the people taking it well, and willingly admitting good discourse and prayer with them. Among many experiences this way, this was one. One help to a profitable converse with the people is, That a minister should not admit of any other talk but divine. It should not be an ordinary thing to keep him company. I see an heart that can familiarly act the things of God, doth make them well accepted. The heart's own mistrustfulness is the greatest hindrance.

My daughter Rose had the small-pox in September. February following, my son Henry had a very sore fit of sickness. It was a fever; and it brought him very low, insomuch that physician and friends doubted of his recovery. At last, his mother thought of an ointment for the worms, which one Mrs. Shore made, and we sent and procured some of it; and he was anointed with that, and it pleased God to recover him. It was nothing but walnut leaves in May, boiled in fresh butter to an ointment; which hath since saved the lives of several children in Manchester that have been dangerously sick by the worms.

There came now orders for a collection for the Indians. A large narrative came with it, and letters, well penned, from both the universities. I was taken with the design; and receiving but the papers on Saturday morning, turned off my ordinary subject and preached two sermons purposely, about Feb. 27th, on 1 Chr. xxix. 3. And the Lord did humble me mightily after evening sermon when I called up the people to subscribe, and they did it so slenderly, and acted in it as if I had not said one word about it. But afterwards the Lord moved upon some of them to help me; and I went up and down from house to house, and making every servant and child that had anything to give, I raised it to a pretty sum for that little place, seven pounds odd money.

I did about this time sometimes at family duties, instead of the chapter read a leaf or two in Mr. Shepherd, and explained it to my family; and it being variety, and as it were change of fare, I found it did relations and servants much good. Upon recounting it now, I think I might restore some such like usage; especially when I may

be forced from my family by the late act, and my children are growing up, and may be going from me within a little while some of them, and they are more capable now than they were then.

On March 16th, I went to Seabridge, and preached (1 Cor. xv. 19) that day at Stoke at the burial of my brother Machin's father; and stayed with them one day, and returned.

April 26. As I went to preach at Keale in Staffordshire, I met the news of the army having pulled up the Rump Parliament. At my return, on the Lord's day after, Capt. Booth of Macclesfield very officiously sent me the army's declaration to publish in the church. I refused, and referred it to the Lord, and went to my sermon; and I found my heart after reproached me not, and no body else that heard of it. I had upon thoughts of this Revolution, amongst others, this Scripture brought to hand, Isaiah xxix. 14, 15, 16, 17.

June 12. This year I preached at the great church at Chester for Mr. Peter Leigh, on Luke xv. 7. It was the first time I ever preached there. At that time Mr. Ash was at Chester, and I had then his acquaintance. He preached on the Monday; and I heard him on 1 Cor. vi. 9. It was six at night when I took horse, and I got home to Gausworth about eleven.

Friday, June 18. My brothers Robert and Richard came to Gausworth to see me. They both preached for me the next day at Gausworth; and we went together the next day, being June 20th, to the funeral of our old friend Mr. Tobias Parnell, alderman of Congleton. My brother Richard stayed with me. I designed and desired his settlement in our parts. Motions were made for him to Leeke, — after to Bosley. He stayed with me till towards Martlemas, and then returned towards Cambridge again; the Lord having appointed his settlement and employment elsewhere.

September 6th was my first acquaintance with Mr. Porter of Penkridge and Mr. Hieron, who preached at Leek, and dear brother Machin and I preached the next day there too.

September 29. It being the last day of power left to ministers by an act that then took place, Mr. Steele and I both preached at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, and there joined in the public marriage of

my dear brother Mr. Machin to Mrs. Sarah Butler; and with them we went that night to Mickleover, and stayed a day or two, and returned home to Gausworth on the Saturday — he, good man, with me, as ready for the work of the Lord as if it had been another's wedding and not his own that he had been at. He only exchanged, and I went to Astbury on the Lord's day. He preached the next day at Macclesfield, (it being market day, and a thing pretty ordinary to have a sermon on the market day,) and the day after I went with him to Biddulph, and we preached both of us that day, and, as I remember, he had laid business for one day, if not two more, in his way back again to his bride that week; and truly our opportunities and labour and travel was great at this time, for I preached at Chedleton on the Thursday, at Swettenham on the Friday this very week too.

October 8th, being Saturday. Using to take some account still on the Saturday evening of this [week] to take before the Lord on the Sabbath, (sometimes more orderly and distinctly, and sometimes more generally and confusedly,) this Saturday I find it was cast into this method of putting interrogatories to my soul: — 1. When wert thou most affected this week, and what was it by? 2. What was the greatest good thou receivedst? Answer — The last night at Biddulph. 3. What the greatest evil? 4. Which the worst moment of all the week? Answer — Wednesday as I rode to such a place. 5. What the greatest sin? Answer — Envy yesterday at the news of conversion by other instruments, &c. 6. What grace is weak? Answer — Trust in God for outwards. 7. What difficulties most pressing? Answer — My journeys and family peace. 8. What hast thou learnt this week? Answer — That instant motions are considerable, and haste to duties the best; and that there is no certainty of creature comforts; that none knows how soon he may not be worth his peace, &c. 9. What dost thou resolve on? Answer — To take a schedule of mercies. 10. What wouldst thou fain have? Answer — Grace to delight in God. This custom in the like kind of inquiries held with me a good while, and was of use to me; but all devices have been short enough to keep up any good practice or disposition in my soul.

October 20. I preached at Knutsford exercise, and we then met about a classical association; and it pleased God, out of conscience of duty and sense of need for mutual help in managing our work, we set it on foot in the darkest time, for even now were they about to vote down the national ministry, and many derided our design as unfeasible and unseasonable; but it pleased God to own it to our great advantage; and it was not long but Oliver was set up Protector, and it was his interest to give us fair quarter amongst the rest. And then it pleased God to make this of use, that we began at such a time in the hearts of the people that they saw it was not only an impulse from the present change in the nation, and that we had begun it when there was least public encouragement for us. We kept a fast at Gausworth November 16th, and made election of elders for that congregation, and the Lord swayed the people to be ruled in the case, though Sir Charles Adderley at night fell somewhat roughly on me. But the Lord turned it all off; and I had need of, and good from the present disturbance which it gave me.

December 27. I had but poor rest this night, because I use to have so good rest usually. I had this experience of the vanity of my heart, that it usually would hugely go out on any thing that was new, or that I accounted of that was expected by me. And I found usually disappointment or some cross about it. A special instance of this I may record here. I had but few books now; and I did now and then send for one or two to London. My sister being there, would get them bought for me; and I sent to her to get Alting his Common Places. They were bought in London, of the first edition in two volumes, and she sent them down by a carter of our town that was at London; and she very unwarily put a deal of sugar in the other end of the bag with them. The carter let wet come to them, and the sugar melted and spoiled the books sadly. They carry the marks of this fondness of mine towards them to this day. Another time I sent to my brother Thomas to get Cameron and Ainsworth bought. He sent me word he had bought them, and sent them down by the carrier. When the carrier came down, he had them not. I wrote of the non-reception of them. He was

much troubled; and the carrier did not remember he had them from him, and so I was a good while in thoughts that they were lost. And so when I had been pretty well exercised with those thoughts, Mr. Wroe of Macclesfield came to me, and told me that amongst goods of his, he found a bundle like a book or two directed unto me; and so I received them at the last, the carrier in haste packing them up amongst his goods. Another time I sent to him to buy me Amesius's Medulla and Valdesso. My dear cousin Fenton was then in London, and he bought the books for me, but took Valdesso to read. It pleased God he shortly died, and the book was never had; and so they still came either almost lost, or spoiled, or by halves, home to me. Mr. Wigley was to send to his stationer for a part of Zanchy, Cartwright on the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and Davenant on the Colossians. These books I longed for hugely, and oft had bickerings with my foolish heart about it. And this I find, June 27th, 1654. I received my books from Mr. Wigley. I was thinking of them this day, and was striving to forget them; and the Lord shortly sent them in, and they were not marred at all. This was not as a thing rare, it being ordinary to have desired things spoiled. Another instance I had of the great vanity and sin of my heart, when, in September following, an Act came out for ejecting scandalous Ministers and School-Masters; and, as assistants to the commissioners, amongst other ministers, my name was put in. I greatly longed to see the act. Saw it at Chester, whither I had occasion to go, but I could not be quiet till I had gotten it from Nantwich; and there being a clause in it about tithes, Mr. Moxon borrowed it of me for that purpose, and it never returned to me again. It vexed me to lose it, because of the act's sake — to have seen thereby the proceedings of times past. But it was my own name in it, that I am confident, lost it me.

Tuesday, January 17th, $165\frac{3}{4}$. Mr. Edge his ordination was concluded on at Knutsford to be at Goostree, such a day. Mr. Ra. Worsley was then at Chelford, and was of very light carriage; and to keep him off from imposing hands at the ordination, they proposed to have some three or more of such as were nominated to

impose hands. I was left out; and the baseness of my heart was such that I had great tugging with myself.

Sunday, 12. Sir Charles Adderley promised to come to the sacrament, (as seemingly satisfied,) yet after came not; and I feared his displeasure. It wrought but too much into all the ordinances that day.

Saturday, 18. A servant of mine, one Francis Millington, would not be ruled, but oft was overseen in drink; and I found at this time, that anger for this did quicken to duties and bring in comfort, whereas other anger works quite contrary.

Thursday, March 16. I meditated this night after reading in the Book of Martyrs all day. A wonderful weaver was John Careless.

April 2. It was sacrament day, and a fit of an ague took me, and held me waking all night, — insomuch that I was exceedingly weak in the morning. I sent out for help, but could get none. It pleased God, just as I went out to go to church, little Mr. Boate met me at the gates, coming on purpose to communicate with me that day. He helped me to read, and at the sacrament; and preached in the afternoon for me. On Monday, in the afternoon, another fit came; and after I had taken the cold fit on a couch-bed, I had sent to Mr. Parnell to advise with Dr. Bentley, and he had prescribed a vomit. My wife was much afraid of a vomit. But Mr. Parnell came not till the afternoon; and it pleased God to make nature discharge itself.

Saturday, June 10. I set out in the company of John Brookes of Chelford (who out of his love went with me) towards Hanmer to my brother Steele. I preached there twice the next day, being Lord's day; rested on the Monday; on Tuesday he and I preached at Wexall Chapel; on the Wednesday old Mr. Porter and I preached at Elsmere. We went that night to sleep to my cousin Manwareing's, and on the Thursday we went to Shrewsbury, and there I preached the lecture. I was overcharged with the labour, considering my late sickness, and yet the Lord helped me and strengthened me; and the next day, being Friday, I returned home to Gausworth.

I was sometimes much affected with the consideration of the excel-

lencies of some men I was acquainted with, and how they were examples for me, and how desirable it were if I could attain to any degree of their graces — Mr. Angier's solemness, Mr. Hollinworth's humility, Mr. Gee's mortifiedness, Mr. Machin's heavenliness, Mr. Langley's discretion, Mr. Hough's spiritual diligence, Mr. Steele's kindness.

Saturday, July 29. Margaret Dale was brought to me in deep distress, occasioned by melancholy; and I found they had crossed her in her desires of marriage with Richard Pointon. I advised with Mr. Angier and Mr. Hollinworth about it; and though her trouble was highly spiritual, and all others seemed to run into this, yet we observed that when Richard came to her, she was for the present more at ease, and took delight in his company, and they advised they should marry, and after a time they did, and the Lord made it a means of settling her, and it was the mercy of God to continue his affections to her, notwithstanding her seeming uselessness. She was with me some time. One morning she came up very early to me, and awaked me, and said if I got not up and prayed with her, the devils would hurry her away, for the chamber was as full of them as ever it could hold, and woful moans she made. I remember the Lord directed me, either at this time or at another, when she came so to me, to divert her fancies by other discourse. This trifle among the rest one time I asked her very simply — what store of hens they had at home, and she told me; and then I asked how many eggs a hen laid in a day; she thought I had been ignorant, and told me one, but fell a laughing at me, and for that time this put her out of her fit. It is something to put persons in such a condition out, though by never so mean a thing; as Mr. Herle says, in his book of Moral Prudence, no diversion can be counted too mean that we can put off anger by. So no doubt anything to divert the present fit of other disquietment should not be neglected. Old Mr. Langley hath told me that Mr. Simeon Ash was hugely kept down when young, and drooped under it sadly. One day he was with Mr. Langley, and had hap to let fall such a word as this — that he might happen drop into heaven shortly.

Mr. Langley presently retorted: "Speak sense, man; do folks use to drop upwards?" And he said Mr. Ash would oft have said what good that word did him; for it put him quite out of the road of his thoughts, and made him more capable of attending to things that might directly comfort him. It is one part, or a good step at least, to the cure of some of these distempers of sadness, to put the party out of the fit by any means, though never so by the by.

Sunday, September 3. I was at Stockport, and preached twice that day, and helped old Mr. Johnson to administer the sacrament. I lodged that night with Mr. Johnson, a reverend, learned, aged divine. I remember he asked old William Syddal that he would put some question to talk of, to employ the holy time of the Sabbath in. In the evening late he went to duties, and took his Bible, of a small volume and print, and read a chapter. It was late, and so dark that I could not have read it I am sure, and he admitted no candle, and so I perceived he read without book; and I believe he was so versed in the Scripture, he could have done so with most parts of the Bible. He preached at the exercise on 2 Pet. iii. about the millenaries, and in his sermon took occasion to expound the 20th of Revelations, verse by verse and word by word, without book. He prayed all in Scripture expression. He was a man mighty in the Scripture. Old William Syddal had been long acquainted with him, and they were discoursing of the days that had passed. Amongst the rest he was telling how Mr. Johnson and some others met at a day of thanksgiving, when the king and the Scots were agreed, about '39, looking upon it as a certain omen of liberty unto the Puritans in England. Old Mr. Rathband, an eminent divine in those parts at that time, came to the place, but would not join with them in the duty, declaring that they were mistaken in the occasion. Mr. Johnson said upon it, that Mr. Rathband did foresee the prelates would not thus yield, but that they would fight for it before they would yield anything, which indeed came to pass. He was saying that Mr. Gataker preached at the Inns of Court when he taught the school at Merchant Tailors' in London, and he said he used constantly to hear him, for he had matter enough in every sermon,

which (says he) I loved well; and he took occasion to say that he judged Mr. Gataker in some respect the greater scholar with the Bishop of Armagh; for though the Bishop was a man of most reading, yet Mr. Gataker's was the most digested learning of any man's of his time. He was further discoursing about his being at Ellenbrook, that he constantly went to Eccles to the sacrament, and Mr. Jones gave him his liberty; and when some others desired the same privilege, and urged Mr. Johnson, the old vicar used to say he would indulge him, for he had something to say for himself. I had a profitable time with him, for he was very full and very communicative.

Tuesday, September 19th, I received the news of the death of my brother Daniel, who died of the small pox.

Friday, October 13th, I was at Chester, and heard the trial of Major Connough about the butchery of Barthomley, Bradshaw being judge. He was cast by the jury, and I was afterwards with him and discoursed with him as well as I could. The matters he died for were clearly proved, and yet he seemed to take a great glory in his innocency, and would freely tell of his other sins, as gaming, drinking, nay conjuring, which were some of them not known, and yet would stand in the denial of a thing that was proved.

Wednesday, November 8th, I preached at Chelford on Psalm cxix. 97.

November 24th, being Friday, after six at night, my old father-in-law Mr. Peter Manwareing died. An huge snow fell this day, insomuch as I could not go to Marten, where I preached a monthly lecture; and it was a providence to keep me at home to attend upon the good old man in his last journey. I was comforted in what he uttered about his soul. He said he did not desire to live, he found such proneness to sin, and blessed God for his relation to me, and living with me, which was a great reward from God unto me for all that I had done for him. He made it his last request that I should preach at his funeral, because he had received so much good by my ministry. I was in sorrow, but yet was forced to prepare for that service; and we buried him at Gauseworth November 28th (Tues-

day) early in the morning, and I caused him to be laid deeper than ordinary in the chancel there, that I believe his body will scarcely be disturbed if others that come after make use of the grave.

There had been some distance between Sir Ch. Adderly and my Lady and us, and I was not so right in my spirit about it as I should have been; but it had no bottom, and this affliction in my family gave them occasion to show neighbourly kindness towards us, and it was all done away hereby.

I had indifferent health, and I studied exceeding hard; read over Mr. Mead's works, which I borrowed from Mr. Wigley, and noted them; and this winter I read over Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and noted it. I do remember one day, viz. December 21st, (Thursday,) I read over the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, and noted it; but I was so tired that night that I had better have made two days of it, which makes me remember Mr. Angier's observation since, that a little pains after one is weary already doth greatly tire and spend one. But my wife's weakness was very great at this time, insomuch that December 14th (Thursday) I was greatly discouraged.

January 15th, (Monday.) Upon some discourse I had about the Quakers, I then had these sad thoughts of them: was much affected to consider the danger we may soon be in from these Quakers; what a woful plague God may make them. As Latimer said Stephen Gardner was kept in the Tower to burn him. Men of the basest tempers and conditions are fittest to be executioners. And God knows what they may be reserved for still.

Jan. 20th, (Saturday.) Lady Fytton being now with child, was in lingering labour this week. Some offered to have me sent for to pray with her, but it was neglected. On Saturday I had been at Congleton, and was just come home, and they came shrieking to me to go pray with her; she did desire it, it should seem. I went as fast as I could; but just as I came, the fit of the palsy took her, out which she never recovered. We went to prayer in the gallery for her again and again. Mr. Machin providentially came in, (to go to Macclesfield the next day,) and he helped me to pray, and we prayed

there two or three times over. We begged life for mother and child very earnestly at first; after, we begged either, which God pleased. After that night we were brought to beg the life of the soul; for all hopes were over. The next day I went to her, and prayed by her before and after sermon in the forenoon. I was affected much to see her lie as in a dream, pulling and setting her head-clothes, as if she had been dressing herself in the glass, and so pass out of the world. A lovely sweet person she was, but thus blasted before us. Died January 21st, just after evening sermon, as near as I could gather, just when she was prayed for in the pulpit. She was buried the next day, at night. I preached at her funeral on those words, And Rachel died. Sir Charles Adderley now removed, and all manner of confusion and trouble came in upon that estate, Mr. Fytton and the co-heirs striving for possession, which begat a strange alteration in the place. I soon saw how God can make one not so highly accounted on, to be sadly missed by one. This affliction hugely buried all kind of distances between Sir Charles and me; and after his going, he never sent over, but he wrote to me with very much respect.

February 6th, (Tuesday.) Edward Sherman, a poor ale man, being sick, sent for me. I dealt as well as I could with him; but saw with him, (as I had done many times before, and have done since upon the like occasion,) how hard it is to get within poor persons at such a time, to fasten anything on them of their danger and concernment.

April 11th, (Wednesday.) I went that morning to baptize a child of my cousin Unwyn's at Talke on the Hill; and came home again, and found my wife in labour, and being very weak, the Lord made her travail easy. She was soon brought to bed.

April 15th, (Sabbath after.) I baptized her by the name of Elizabeth.

May 14th, (Monday.) How doth my soul rejoice! when my servant went to such an house the other night, and as she went found them at prayers at two or three houses; and was forced to stand at doors till duty was done.

May 26th, being Saturday, I came to Manchester. Brought two sermons with me; one on 2 Cor. vii. 1, the other Rom. vii. 24. I thought of the former as having lately preached it, but then I thought I might haply not preach again to that great people, and the former discourse would only concern some that were serious; but there might be hundreds that the other might reach to, that were in a carnal condition, and so I thought rather to preach of that. Whilst these things were in my thoughts, I began to think that John Woolen's wife was lately fetched from Chester, and in all likelihood she had heard me preach it there, (for I had preached there the last winter.) I employed Wm. Syddal to enquire about it; and this rub was removed, for she said she was not at church to hear it. But presently Mrs. Lowthier of Chester, (who after married Mr. Fogg of Liverpool,) being come over to her aunt Mrs. Amey, came to see me, and told me that she heard of my coming at this time, and so came over on purpose that she might meet me. I thought this was a clear direction to waive the subject, and so fell on to prepare on 2 Cor. vii. 1. But when I was in bed, the other matter recurred, and the question was thus stated to my conscience, Whether I would waive the greater probable advantage of many souls, for my credit and repute with one person? and the odds seemed so great that I durst not do it. And so I did preach on Rom. vii. 24, the first time that ever I preached at Manchester. And a great congregation it was, and the Lord helped me graciously; and I could never perceive that Mrs. Lowthier so much as took notice of my preaching it at Chester. They hugely solicited me to preach at six of the clock the next morning, but I was not able, being weak in body, and to preach at Mottram upon the Tuesday; and when they had urged me much, and I was just ready to yield, I ejaculated to God to help me to do his will, and he was pleased to cause their importunity to fall, and I did not preach. The next day I went to Mr. Angier, and lodged with him the Monday and Tuesday nights. He went with me on the Tuesday to Mottram; and I was much out of order in body. The Lord ordered it for good to me, for I never preached in more pain, nor less pride, than that day. The

next day I called at Harding of Mr. Eaton, who had then lately returned from Ireland; and precious Mr. Morcut was then just dead, and he told me of the precious name and savour he had left behind him there.

June 28th, (Thursday.) I was troubled with a dream this night. How I had preached at some great place, and on the Monday, at noon time of the day, should run in my shirt up and down the streets, to speak some message to the people. Methought, as soon as ever I had done, I was sorely grieved and lamented, and was discoursing with others about it; and they told me what I had said. Then when I was going out, some minister would have drunk with me, and I said I must do my message first. And others told me what I had said: There is one God and three persons, &c.; and this I spake not by the light that shines upon me, or under me, but that shines into me. I was in great distress about it, conceiving it a most sad scandal to have done thus. And then I awaked; and finding it to be but a dream, how glad my soul was!

About this time Mr. Gullyford, a blind young man, was brought by his mother to live with me, — that, if it were possible, he might be reclaimed from company. I had much exercise with him, but I could do no good with him; and so after some half a year or three-quarters, he prevailed to get back again, though I had, by threats and persuasions, brought the ale-houses that they would not let him have drink, and others would not let him have money. But now he prevailed on his mother's indulgence, and so got home again, — where he hath grown old in his sin, and drowned in the filthy lust of drinking; and at last drowned, (as I remember,) as he came home, between Stone and Walthall.

July 2. On Monday after a Sabbath whereon we had a sacrament, I was greatly tired; and yet went out on a journey to bring Mrs. Meyricke home to Mr. Hildersam's of West Felton, in Shropshire. A long journey it was; but the Lord hugely supported me in the way, and brought us thither by night. The next day I preached at Baschurch exercise. I had opportunity by this journey to understand from Mr. Hildersam, and Mr. Parsons of Wem, the

business about Mr. Vaughan, that then was a suitor to Mrs. Meyricke; and I delivered my mind plainly to her about it, and she declined it upon the advice. I had now my first acquaintance with Reverend Mr. Samuel Hildersam; who has been a very noble friend to me, and faithful adviser in some other matters of moment afterwards.

August 7th, (Tuesday.) I had the news of the death of my precious cousin Mr. Thomas Fenton. He had been in great exercise about his wife; and his case I had consulted the ablest divines in the country about. And after much waiting, he had accomplished the business with her mother's consent; and being just settled at Crutchet Fryers in London, within a little while after he fell into the small-pox, and was let blood and died. Mr. John Frost, B.D., of St. John's, in Cambridge, was his school-fellow at Bury. They were both of a year in the university. They were Vice-Proctors and Taxers together. And two years after he came to the same place in London; and in the same distance of time, after marriage and settlement in the place, he died also, being let blood in the same manner, of the small-pox.

I seldom went any journey but the Lord was pleased to lay some cross on me, or fear upon my spirit that was an awe unto me; as I had oft found, so especially being to go to Chester, April 1st, 1656, (Tuesday.) My wife was exceedingly ill, and my sister Ann at Chester had fallen out with me, — and a woman of very bitter expression she is in her passion; and I was forced to go to the assizes, as a witness in a suit of Col. Manwareing's. I thought with myself then, that I was to go forth like a wild bull, held with a cord before and another behind. I shall travel between two coolers; leaving my wife so ill at home, and fearing my sister's anger before me. I found my sister quiet at Chester, and my wife pretty well at my return home. I had at Chester opportunity to be acquainted with Mr. George Manwareing, then parson of Malpas, who, in his younger days, was curate to Dr. Bret, and knew my uncle Sparke (who married his daughter) very well.

I had now redoubled weary thoughts about my outward con-

dition,—things going harder and harder with me. This was a year of much exercise to me; for some of my friends that knew my condition, and thought I drooped under it, began to advise about removal, perceiving that Gausworth was not like to supply me. The first motion that was made was of Mucklestone in Staffordshire, a considerable living now void, in the gift of Mr. Offley, and [who] intended his kinsman Mr. Gabriel Offley to it. But after a time the Major General, at a meeting of his commissioners, wrote to Mr. Offley that he would be pleased to present me to the living. This was done about May; and I knew nothing of it till Mr. Hall of Newcastle came to me with the letters, and acquainted me how far they had proceeded. The commissioners had sent the letter to the patron by their own messenger, and he came to me, and we the week after met at Knutsford, where I advised with the two Mr. Langleys in the case; and that which we brought it to then was only this, that in case Mr. Offley granted, I must then take further advice about an answer. And so it pleased God he stood stiffly to his right, and would not he terrified beside his own resolution.

In the midst of these troubles, in preparing for the Sabbath, May 25th, (Sunday,) I studied to expound in my course Genesis xxx, and I found a note of Pareus on verses 27, 28, which did much refresh me: "Piorum labores aliis potius quam ipsis solent esse utiles ad tempus, sed tandem Deus et ipsis abundè compensat." I then inferred, if the Lord hath made me profitable unto others' souls, I hope he will at length take some order for my own poor house.

June 3rd, (Tuesday,) having received a letter from Colonel Hunt of Shrewsbury to come over thither, I now set forward; came to my brother Steele's the first night; with him went the next day to Shrewsbury. The day after, preached the lecture at St. Mary's, and stayed there till the Monday. I preached twice on the Lord's day at Alkmonde, Mr. Hildersham exchanging on the Lord's day with Mr. Talents; and so being in town, I had the society of both those worthy persons at this time. There were motions made to me, but nothing in any readiness at this time. The only church that was empty was Julian's, then much out of repair, and no means

belonging to it; and I was sensible of the preciousness of the people, and of their affections to me, but I saw the inconvenience of the thing upon many accounts. With Rev. Mr. Hildersham I came to Wem on the Monday, where met several of the ministers of those parts to advise about personal instruction, the business that precious Mr. Baxter had set on foot at that time.

I had now a motion also to Bury in Lancashire; but there was a man settled, and I never gave consent so much as to come over to preach among them upon that account.

But now the matter was gotten abroad that there were some thoughts of leaving them at Gausworth, and great thoughts of heart it occasioned among us. Many took liberty to censure deeply and unmercifully, and some of my friends showed me little favour that way, judging my poverty to be my fault, and excess and want of due providence; and others were grieved upon a pious account, and were truly loath to part with me. Several of the people came to me June 13th, (Friday;) much love and ingenuity was shown by them. Pains they would take to the utmost for my stay, and yet would not press it unless I could stay comfortably. Hence my heart was stronglier bent towards them. I then received a letter from my brother Leadbeater, who had heard of my trouble and dejection, and he seasonably hinted that of Job iv. 3, 4, and 5. The people offered to view the tithes, and unless they could clear near an hundred pounds a year, they would not urge my stay. It was a strange providence; for by this means it appeared to all men what I had said the parsonage was worth, which none of my best friends at a distance almost believed. And I thought it strange that when I had some thought of going, the people seemed to take it so heinously, and now when I was coming to be more unwilling and unsatisfied in my own spirit, they should come to such reasonableness and modesty in their motions to me. Merely to be quiet, I came to a resolution with myself to sit down at Gausworth — I expressed it for one year, but with a secret real intention to suffer much before I would run the fresh trouble of being talked of any more, and perplexed as I have been of late. And now, merely to divert and ease my wearied

spirits, I resolved to take a journey into my own country. My great troubles put me on to propose as serious ends as I could in the journey; and I left my wife but weakly, and great danger of the smallpox to the children, they being huge rife in the parish; but the Lord in much mercy spared them in my absence. I set from Gausworth July 14th, (Monday,) called to see my brother Machin, dined at Clough House, and that night went to Walton and lodged at Mrs. Gulliford's, where I saw a choice providence of God to the comfort of my journey, in that Mrs. Gulliford should have gone that day towards Bristol, and was prevented, and went out with me the next morning. It would have been a disappointment to me to have found her away, when I had thus designed to answer her invitations at this time. The next day I came to Hinckley, to the house of my friend Mr. Leadbeater. I was persuaded by him to rest me with him the next day. The next day, being July 17th, (Thursday,) I came to Lutterworth, Kalmish, Kettering, Barton, (the monument of depopulation, going by which place I thought of what Mr. Bolton hath said, that some places that had been so depopulated had cast out the seed of the depopulator, and as I remember I inquired, and it was so here,) Buxton, Finden, and came to Wimington pretty timely, where I found my brother Richard. With him I lodged that night, and the next day we went to Caldcot. The Lord brought me safe to Caldcot, and to the joyful sight of my dear relations in the place of our nativity. I preached on the Lord's day at Caldcot twice on Heb. ii. 3; on the Wednesday at Peterborough on 2 Cor. vii. 1; on the Friday with Mr. John Meritton at Lutton, he on Rom. xiv. 12, and I on 2 Pet. iii. 11, though when I came to prepare for it I had left the notes at home, but the Lord helped me to remember the most material things. I had now the acquaintance with Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Gibson, &c. On the Lord's day the forenoon I preached at Stilton on 2 Cor. iv. 3, and at Caldcot in the afternoon on 2 Cor. iv. 17, to a very great assembly for that small place. On the Friday in the evening my brother Thomas came in from London, and so all of us that were alive were together.

On the Monday, July 28th, I set out homewards again; called

at Stamford to see my cousin Daniel Wigmore, and went that night to Wytham to my aunt. She told me a passage which I had never heard before of my grandfather Williamson, That the first seven years he was in debt, and could not get out of so long; and never told my grandmother of it till he was gone out. He lived but five years after; and then he thrived so fast in that time, that he was more troubled than he was before when he paid it as fast as it came.

July 29. I came to Nottingham to my friend Mr. Grant; lodged at Mr. Whitchurche's minister of St. Peter's, where I had sweet society and kind reception. And it was a great Providence that Mr. Ash should be there at that time, by which means, 1. I was saved from the temptation of preaching, which I might have been little able for in my journey, and by reason of my engagement for the next day; 2. I had the opportunity of hearing that precious man, and he preached on a subject on purpose for my condition, on 1 Peter v. 7. We set out after sermon, Mr. Grant, Mr. Chadwick, and I, (and my cousin H. Manwaring, who was my companion this journey;) we dined at Nuttall with the Lady Farrall, called at Pentridge to see Mr. Porter, (whose wife was that day just brought in bed,) and we came late to Hopton to Mr. Gell's. The next day, Thursday, July 31st, Mr. Grant and I preached at Wirksworth to a very great congregation. I preached on 2 Cor. vii. 1. We lodged that night with Mr. Whitehall of Pettles; and the next day, being August 1st, I parted with my dear friend Mr. Grant, and got home by three of the clock that day.

When I came home I found that my friend Mr. Evans was in the country, (coming down with Mr. James Stanley to Alderley;) and I had his help at Gausworth once again, and much of his sweet society and company for two or three weeks after my return. My sister Dorothy returned also to us about this time, so that we had great refreshment in the sight of friends at this time.

Wednesday, August 20. I preached at Manchester with Mr. Angier, on Heb. ii. 3, being desired thereunto by Mr. Hollinworth. Mr. Evans and Mr. Stanley came to the town with me. I lodged this time at Mr. Worthington's.

September 16th, (Tuesday.) I was strangely surprised by the kindness of Mr. Hildersam, Mr. Barnet bringing me from him and Sir Francis Nethersole, ten pounds. And here I may set down in memory of the Lord's fatherly goodness to me, the kindness of several of my friends about this time; that my children, after me, may know their father's friends, and bear a grateful respect to the memory and posterity of such as shew such kindness to me, as this ten pounds before said. My cousin Unwyn lent me ten pounds in a strait some years before, and after freely gave it me. My brother Machin was hugely concerned in my trouble, and he did endeavour to have raised enough to free me, and would have done more if I would have suffered him; but his kindness was extraordinary, and never to be forgotten. He payed for me six pounds which I owed, and after freely gave it me. Mr. Bagnald of Newcastle, a cordial friend, sent me by him five pounds. Mr. Leadbeater it seems, promised with himself, that if ever such a sum of money, which he counted uncertain, (but was not able well otherwise to do it,) did come in, he would send me five pounds. And to manifest the truth of his love, he sent it to me after I was come to Manchester, and told me after it was mine, and I must receive it. Mrs. Gell sent me forty shillings. Mr. Evans, at his going out of the country, sent me in a letter two pieces of gold, which I have still. And Col. Manwareing was ever a true and kind friend to me; who laid down the money which my coming into Gausworth stood in, and patiently bore it till I was come to Manchester, and then I paid it, fifteen pounds, at three payments, to Mrs. Amey, upon my cousin Francis Manwareing's score, who was bound apprentice to her; and four pounds I lent my cousin Peter, at the rout of Sir George Booth; so that all I owed him was paid. But the seasonableness of his laying it out for me, and kindness to forbear it without ever asking it, made it in my account as great an obligation upon me as if he had given it me. By these helps I was eased of some part of my debts, and much encouraged to trust in God for the rest.

I was now so far resolved to settle at Gausworth and put my condition to the Lord's providence, rather than revive the troubles of

this summer, that I repaired the parsonage-house, — pointed and mossed it round, made some convenient alterations in the house, (especially that partition in the parlour,) — and it cost me a good deal of money. And when I was settling, I received a letter from Mr. Baxter, unthought of by me. It came to me September 20th, which hinted something about Shrewsbury, and his advice to me, to come thither. I then took occasion to state my case to him, and to open it fully to him every way, and to desire his thoughts in the case. He, in a large letter, took pains to answer mine; and hinted things to my satisfaction, which I thought not of.

His letter came to me on the Saturday, November 1st. On the next day came a special messenger with letters from him, being now at Shrewsbury, and from several of the people there, with a close and particular invitation of me to Julian's there. It was the Lord's day, and I was forced to write a brief answer to Mr. Baxter; and it was, that I had not time to think of the business, but if it were still insisted on, I should refer it to divines to debate, and be willing to be ordered by them. The next day, November 3rd, (Monday,) died that precious servant of God, Mr. Hollinworth, at Manchester, suddenly. On the Wednesday, I received a letter from some of the town about that place, to know my freedom in case I were elected. I returned a true answer that I was engaged to Gausworth till the 25th of March, and so I perceived they must have speedy provision, and I thought that might be a direction to them to choose a fitter man. Not then free unless released by the Classis. And besides, I was conditionally engaged to Shrewsbury, but the Lord's day before. I dealt thus plainly, that they might not find matters more difficult after than I had given them at first an account of. And then I thus thought, That if it were of God, they would see a possibility for all this; if not, this might serve to satisfy them, and move no further upon me. This matter thus rested. At their meeting on Friday after, November 7th, three were nominated — Mr. Meeke, Mr. Bradshaw, and myself. Mr. Meeke, they answered, they had him already in his vicinity at Salford. Mr. Bradshaw, Major Radcliffe was for, and some few; but the people were generally preju-

diced towards him. For me, Mr. Heyricke read my letter, and declared plainly that he thought there would be no hopes of me. But they broke up that meeting and did nothing. A day was appointed by the Class for humiliation, December 3rd, (Wednesday,) and the election to be the Friday after, December 5th. Mr. Worthington called of me November 10th, (Monday,) and acquainted me how matters stood, and desired me to write my mind to some one in Manchester. I did to Mr. Wollen, and desired to be informed in three things: — 1. That Mr. Heyricke were fully satisfied. 2. That the Classis approved of it. 3. About the maintenance; what it was, &c. I received no answer to this till November 18th, (Tuesday,) I found a special messenger from them to desire me to come over to preach, either the fast-day, December 3rd, or the Sabbath day before, that the congregation might be satisfied in my voice, &c. I answered this, That I wondered no notice was taken of my former letter, especially in answer to the two first queries, and I was apt to take them in the negative; and it concurred so well with my own judgment in the case, that I was desirous they would be satisfied as well as I was. And as to coming over, I was unsatisfied to it on such a design, and very uncertain how to get my place supplied, &c. I looked on the business of Manchester now as over. But November 25th, (Tuesday,) at a classical meeting at Knutsford, Mr. Cockson was there, and he set me straight; excused the not answering Mr. Wollen's letter, because he did not communicate it for answer as he should have done; and so I procured supply for my own place, and promised to come thither on the Lord's day. But so evenly did they strike from Shrewsbury that this very night Mr. Downes I found at Gausworth, with letters from Shrewsbury from the people of Julian's, from the mayor, Mr. Hunt, and three of the ministers. I answered them in brief; and stated my whole new case to Mr. Baxter, and desired his answer and advice. (These letters are all at large in the collection of historical things for this year, 1656.) On the Lord's day after, being November 30th, I preached at Manchester, on 2 Cor. vii. 1, (the text that I had intended the May was twelve months before;) my wife then lay in

on Peter, and several of the women would needs send tokens to her. I was really unwilling of it; but they professed they did it out of their respect to me for the pains I had taken, and I was forced to accept of it. It came to about seven pounds; at which Mr. Hunt, the younger, gave a very unhandsome lash in his letter of January. Mr. Buxton lay dangerously sick of a pleurisy at this time. I visited him on Tuesday morning, and so came home that day to Gausworth. On Wednesday, December 3rd, they kept their fast at Manchester, and [had] the assistance of Mr. Gee and Mr. Tilsley. And that very night Capt. Hunt came from Shrewsbury with an answer to my letter to Mr. Baxter, with letters from Mr. Hildersam, Mr. Talents, &c., (copies of which are at large in the forementioned collections.) I went, December 4th, to Macclesfield exercise. Capt. Hunt went with me (he was one that was severely prosecuted in the high commission, with Mr. Peter Leigh of Chester, for visiting Mr. Prynne in those days). I dealt faithfully with them on both sides, and sent Mr. Baxter's letter to them that day before their election, and one from myself no whit encouraging to election; and I engaged to Capt. Hunt to give them a visit at Shrewsbury the next week but one. But on the election day, December 5th, (Friday,) they proceeded and chose me nemine contradicente. Mr. Heyricke gave me an account of it, told me that Mr. Baxter's letter took them not off. They had chosen me; if I could close they would be glad; if not, they would refer it to a meeting of three ministers on each side, and would debate the business, &c. Upon this December 8th, (Monday,) I went to Astbury, and got Mr. Machin to join with me in a letter to my brother Steele of Hanmer, and sent to him my letter to Shrewsbury, with Mr. Heyricke's letter, and desired him to go over and to persuade them to a reference, and that the meeting upon that account might be in lieu of the visit I had promised. By the return of that special messenger I received a power of letters, and of another note than formerly or than I expected. On the day I went to brother Machin for his advice and help, I stayed all night, and we went to duties together till late, in my chamber, each of us twice over, and it was a very sweet oppor-

tunity; my pressing troubles made me more willing of the duty and patient towards it. My brother Machin had a very pretty similitude in prayer on my behalf, that I might be carried on in my work with no more difference than a ploughman, when he hath done one field, goes to another, and sets in his plough as if it were all but one furrow, so that I might follow on my work with the same design and intention wherever I am. December 12th, (Friday,) I received the Classis' letter from Manchester; and December 19th, in the morning, I received letters from Shrewsbury (the letters I mentioned of that uncouth strain); I was much troubled and amazed at it. The next morning I had writ to Mr. Langley that matters now were grown ripe and lay heavy upon me, and entreated him, if he could spare me an hour or two next morning, I would come to Swettenham to him for his help and advice. He freely granted it; and I this Monday morning, December 15th, went to him, and had his hearty counsel upon perusal of all my letters from both places. And whereas I must of necessity go to Shrewsbury, he very lovingly offered to go with me the very next day (an extraordinary kindness it was, and a great comfort at that very troublesome juncture it was.) He took all my letters, and showed them his father and Mr. Edge that night. The next morning, December 16th, I met him at Haslington, and we got to Hodnet to Mr. Campian's that night, and the next day to Shrewsbury by 11. Mr. Langley preached the next day there at Mary's lecture on 2 Cor. viii. 17 rarely well, and I in the afternoon on Psalm l. 22, at Julian's, the new repaired church (as they said) for me. But much eager and hot discourse we had about the business. I most earnestly besought them to put it to a reference, and I would take their determination whatever it was. But being greatly pressed, they concluded to refer it to myself, and what answer I sent they would acquiesce in. Mr. Langley said but little for me, and Mr. Downes very passionately and unhandsomely told him, that his father had been respected and honoured in that town, and it would be sad if they of Shrewsbury should after have cause to say they might have had Mr. Newcome if it had not been for Mr. Langley's son. He took the expression (as he might well) ill from

them, and so after said but little. But this silencing him did them more hurt than if he had his liberty to speak; for it could not but trouble me to see my friend unhandsomely treated, and it gave me a taste of the spirit which I feared. But I thought it strange that I should judge it myself, as if they rather counted of success by over-laying of my affections than by the sedate resolution and judgment of uninterested divines in the case. But much respect they showed me, and great affection towards me, which I had cause to value at a high rate. But I perceived, by myself and friends, these two things that did greatly discourage me: 1. A strange fondness and resolution to have the design forward, on which Mr. L. said well, when Rachel would have children or die, she was fit for neither death nor children. So Mr. Boate was at a private day with them about this affair, and he prayed very honestly that if God had more work for me to do at Gausworth, he would keep me there; or if more at Manchester, he would take me thither, &c. Some told him they were troubled to hear him pray; he answered, he prayed not to please them, but God, if he could. The second thing was, an extraordinary expectation. They did expect I should do more than was possible for a man to do. They looked that I should exceed all the ministers they had, and they had four all eminent men; and this expectation I knew was such an enemy that I was hugely deterred from encountering with it. We got out pretty soon on the Friday morning, and baited at Hodnet, and rode in the night to Middlewich. It was a mercy we did so, for there fell a snow that night. The next day I came to Caringham, and Mr. Langley preached at Goose-tree, I at Swettenham, and Mr. Edge at Gausworth, and I came home on the Lord's day at night. On Tuesday, December 23d, I kept in private to seek the Lord in this great affair.

The next day I spent in drawing up my answer to Shrewsbury, which was to be there by New Year's day. It was ready. And on Tuesday night I went to Congleton, and took order to send it away; and lay at Astbury that night, thinking of going about God's work, and leaving mine to him. As soon as I was in bed, my man came to me with a letter, imparting that Mr. Byroms, William and

Edward, and Mr. Worthington, were come to Gausworth, and they desired me to meet them at Congleton the next morning; and so I did. And it was to shew me an order for approbation to the church of Manchester, which for their necessity, to save the danger of intrusion into the place, I consented to; and just that day my answer went towards Shrewsbury. I went then after to preach at New Chapel that day.

October 24th, Friday. I was abroad at a private day at Jo. Norbury's, and came home through much blustering, and found the winds had done some hurt to the housing.

January 1st, (Thursday,) I preached at Newcastle. At Seabridge at night I had small heart to the night duty, and yet was on a sudden quickened to it by two special considerations: — 1. That my answer from Shrewsbury might, for aught I knew, be in framing that very night, and therefore prayers might have influence on it. 2. That the Lord's meeting us at Seabridge was solemnly begged at Astbury, when together that night; and the opportunity was precious. On the Saturday, January 3rd, I returned home, and met with my answer from Shrewsbury; wherein Mr. Hunt had shewed me no mercy, but made use of his parts to lay load on me. Mr. Talents his letter was compassionate and full of tenderness to me. But they refused the reference; and, with much passion, laid claim to a promise. (These letters may be seen in the collections, 1656, of December 29th and January 1st.)

(Afterwards upon occasion when I wrote to Mr. Baxter, and hinted how I would have been ruled by a reference, which they at Shrewsbury declined, he wrote that he had not heard that before, and if it was so, the matter was clear, and he had no more to charge me with.)

No sooner had I with so much struggling determined the business with Shrewsbury, but January 6th, (Tuesday,) Mr. Harmar, the constable of Manchester, and Mr. Cockson met me at Knutsford. And now new work began about leaving Gausworth. One of the parishioners had told Mr. Langley that I laid all that I did upon the Classis, or upon the ministers that advised me to it; which they

seemed to take ill. Now the truth is, I had done nothing without the advice of some of them; and also still said that I would do nothing without them. But he and others were loath to bear any blame in the business, and so the matter was made difficult. Yet the Classe appointed delegates, (Mr. Langley, Mr. Brereton, and Thomas Brooke,) to go over to Gausworth to understand the mind of the people; which they did the Monday following, January 12th. Upon this I was huge indifferently disposed, and expected it might be determined to stay there, or that some would fly out and speak passionately about my removal. But I desired to submit all to the will of God; and did not look for such an issue as was when the day came. But the Lord made the matter smooth. No harsh or grieving words passed. The people did ingenuously profess their sorrow to part with me, and yet durst not detain me. Upon this the delegates declared me free; but advised me to take what care I could of the place, and also that I should see (since the people released me here for want of means) that I did assuredly exchange for competent provision, by having it secured to me. But more of this afterwards.

But the next Thursday after, my trouble began afresh. The parish met about a new minister. My design was at Mr. Edge. Mr. Jeinson put in furiously for his son, and fell out with me, almost irreconcileably, about him, that I would not use my endeavours for him; which I could not do in conscience. For though I wished well to his father, as my loving friend and neighbour, and envy not at all that since he hath gotten the place, after the turn of two or three others there, — yet, then, a better might be had; and I judged myself bound in conscience to use my utmost endeavours to provide the best I could for that people that would not hold me when they thought it to my prejudice. I had thirty pounds offered me to promote some one; but I answered it was grief enough to me to leave that people, but I would never add to that the guilt of selling them. And I did not in the least edge for any advantage to myself from my successor, God he knows it; but if I could, would rather have bribed an honest man to come in. But at the meeting I moved

for Mr. Edge. Several moved hotly for Mr. Jeinson. We put them upon this, that if the Classe did approve him, the people would consent. But his party refused that. And strangely they turned unanimously off, and concluded to lay him aside; because this motion was judged reasonable, and it was easily perceived he was exceptionable, when as he would stand no test. I remember, when I said something to them that Mr. Edge was an eminent man, &c., old John Swaine said, What should we do with an eminent man? for some will be ready to take him soon from us: if we have a meaner man, we may likelier keep him. But, which I adored God for, there were no harsh words passed from any of the people unto me. We after had Mr Henshaw on foot; and he being motioned to Chelford, though our people would have united in him, and I judged him an honest man, yet he closed with Chelford, and so we were still at a loss. But before the business of the Classis, I had met Mr. Heyricke, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Angier, at Stockport, January 9th, (Friday,) and they approved me to Manchester, and they returned up the certificate to the tryers above.

And now here I must not forget a mercy which I had in this interim, — the birth of my third son and fifth child, whilst the messenger was in the house, November 5th, (Wednesday,) at night, with letters from Manchester. My wife fell in labour. I got up, and got my man to me, and we went to prayers; and before prayer was done, the child was born: and Richard Salt went on with thanksgiving. He was named Peter, in remembrance of his grandfather, lately dead. His mother was hardly put to it to nurse him; but since it was cast home again in this manner, it pleased God to send in Margaret Neild, who lived in the house with us, and went to Manchester with us, and with my wife and her the child was comfortably nursed.

January 17th, (Saturday,) I went to go towards Manchester, fully expecting Mr. Hunter to supply Gausworth. By the providence of God I went through Knutsford to be sure, and found him without any thoughts of going. I was forced then to stay at Rosterne the Lord's day, and to send my cousin H. M. to Manchester to acquaint

them of this disappointment; and so on Monday I came to Mr. Buxton's (who was boroughreeve, and had engaged me to be his guest at Stockport). I preached on the Tuesday on 1 John iii. 3; and in moving the business to and fro, I condescended to do the utmost I could, to prevent hazard at Manchester and ruin to Gausworth, (after I was informed I might keep the title to Gausworth,) to come to Manchester for one year, that if Gausworth was not settled in that time, I might be free to return thither again. If it were settled, I promised to sit down at Manchester. The maintenance was £94 per annum augmentation, and they promised to make it up £120, and so they did; and after I was with them, I never offered to require security from them for either, for God wrought mutual love and sincere confidence between us.

About this time my pressures had been so great, and I was so dispirited by them, that from my own experience, and for help against the distemper, I studied and preached some sermons on Exodus vi. 9, and Matt. vi. ult., for in the midst of all my troubles I had now grievous sorrow from the reproach of censure that I underwent from the most in this business; and yet now these reproaches hurt me not.

February 11th, (Wednesday,) I had a fit of the ague, a very sharp one; and yet it pleased God it was but one fit.

February 28th, (Saturday,) I brought my wife to Manchester. I preached there the next day on Psalm li. 13. We stayed here till Wednesday. Chose an house at this time. And now there was some talk of Mr. Clayton being lecturer here. Mr. Heyricke would not let me speak of it, but said he would order that business; but before I could come again, he had begun his lecture. March 11th, (Wednesday,) he began it. It pleased God to make use of some men's indiscretion and his forwardness to be an exercise to me in this thing, as an alloy to the content and danger of the novelty in the change. At my return, Mr. Henshaw's business I found dashed; and so was surprised with new cares and fears about Gausworth.

March 20th (Friday). After many weary tossings with the people's carelessness and carnality, and perverseness about settling

Gausworth, I having sent to London to put in a caveat that none should pass there without our privity, at last Captain Leadbeater came over, and we got a meeting this day; and the people agreed very unanimously that the profits should be gathered, and ministers paid that should preach, till a minister could be settled amongst them, or to that purpose.

On March 28th, (Saturday,) I came to Manchester, and was at Mr. Minshull's till the Monday sevennight after, coming now to enter upon my charge there, it being just on Easter eve. Mrs. Rosterne died suddenly in childbed on the Monday morning, March 30th. I returned back to Gausworth April 6th; staid there and had the sacrament on the Sabbath day, April 12th. On Thursday, April 16th, the carts came and carried away all our goods towards Manchester. I was sadly affected and broken all to pieces in leaving the house. I never was so broken in duty as I was in that which I went unto just when we were ready to go out of the house. We prayed the Lord that the sin of this seven years may be forgiven us, and that not one of them might follow us from that place; that we might take a pardon with us, and leave the sins behind us, and that God would bless us every child at going out. I thought I went like Jacob, my children before me, and I following after; but I had no Esau to waylay me. I am afraid lest my way be perverse before the Lord. I am full of shame and sorrow and dejection. I could wish myself invisible till this transaction were overpast. But my Father knows my sorrow and my fears, and will out of pity speak to my comfort and be reconciled to me. I write this now, in April 1666, when I am driven out nine years after upon the act, not only from one people to another, but from my people and family and work too, and must upon the matter go whither I may; yet it is no such trouble to me as that was. There is a vast difference between going out on our own, and on God's account; and when God supports, it is easier to be driven out than to go out when he in the least withdraws. We went with our family to Marten, to my cousin Davenport, who received us as if she had been my mother, and thence we were fetched by the horses and friends that came for us from Manchester.

On the Saturday, April 18th, at Congleton, I received a Rabshekah letter from Mr. Reddish, as I had done many an one in this time of my being at Gausworth. I much disputed with myself whether I should read it or no. I concluded I would read it, that it might inform me of something which I knew not before. I did therefore open it, and though there were many bitter things in it, yet this I looked on as a great mercy from the Lord, that there were no real gross things that he could lay to my charge. My God it is that has been singularly gracious to me, that such an one as he, that would pull out the whole piece if he could, hath nothing but lies to lay against me. I thought it would rejoice him if it angered me, but I desired to pity him. He is one of my profitable enemies, by whom I have gained direction how to live.

I preached at Astbury on the Lord's day April 19th, and on Thursday April 23rd we came to Manchester with our family (the very day that I went secretly out of town to Thomas Topping's that time nine years.) Many and most of the town met us at Stockport, and in the way; and great respect they shewed unto us. I was kept down with sadness upon many accounts, whereby I was kept out of the pomp and ceremony of their meeting, as if I had not been concerned in the business. The Lord knows how much sin this sadness did prevent. My cousin Unwyn and Mr. Hough came with me to Manchester. (Mr. Baxter brought me to Stockport.)

I was greatly troubled between the corruption of my heart and the ill management of the business of this lecture. Some of my best friends had unadvisedly brought it on; and others, that cared less for me, took hold of it to raise a faction against me in the town. And Mr. Clayton, though he preached well and profitably, yet he carried but indifferently in the business; never sought my consent as a person concerned in the matter, but sought to have strengthened his party to have got in per fas aut nefas; and it was a great hazard but the congregation had been divided from me at the very setting in. I sometimes thought my condition was sad when I came to Manchester. I looked like one that had married against her friends' mind, and he that she married seemed not to care much for her.

So I left Gausworth to come to them, who were loath to part with me; but before I could get to them, they had shewed this disrespect to me. And then I oft thought how they that gave this occasion did not shew so little goodness in doing, but I shewed as little in bearing and improving it no better. But this continued for this half year, and the Lord then took it off, and the effects of it by degrees wore off; and the Lord gave me a full rooting in the hearts of the people, as if this thing had never been; and he humbled me at setting in, and did me much good thereby.

It was somewhat new to me to visit so many of the sick as I did when I came first to Manchester. A burial in a month, was as much as happened in the country; and here I visited three or four sick persons a day, — and several burials in a week. I thought these frequent occasions of death were enough to keep one always solemn. And truly there is great reason that in towns, where there is so much dying, there should be more seriousness by minding of death more: yet, in time, this grew familiar, and but too common with me. The first funeral sermon that I preached here was at the burial of little James Illingworth, with whom I was when he died. I preached on Eccles. vii. 4, on May 21st, (Thursday.)

May 24. On the Lord's day, as I was going up into the pulpit, Mr. Heyrick told me Mrs. Winter was dead; (though it was but a report) it proved an occasion of quickening to me, by this thought, that she was busier then in keeping Sabbath than we were here, and made a more serious matter of it.

Betty fell ill about this time, was dangerously ill of a fever; and was sometimes so ill, that when I went out, I thought I should have found her dead at my return. And thus she lay several days. I was much affected herewith, lest the Lord should seem hereby to manifest his displeasure for my removing. But the Lord spared me herein, and restored the child. She was ill again August 4th, and we looked for no life in her. My sister was from home, and we durst not but send to her, because of her affection to the child, lest she should not see her. It pleased God she came to us August 7th, she was finely recovered; but she was judged so hopeless, that

when I went over next to Gausworth, they told me they were sorry because they heard that she was dead. But the Lord recovered her at this time also.

June 13. I was at Gausworth again, (being Saturday,) in preparation for the sacrament, which was there the next day. They had at present Mr. Orme to supply the place, who preached pretty well, and the people could have been willing to have had him settled, but he was slighty in it; and after when he would, we were unsatisfied in him. And God ordered the matter at last to our full content.

On June 1st, (Monday,) a poor woman in labour, Bull Marler's wife, (one of the coarsest pieces in our town,) being in extremity of labour, sent to me for God's sake to go to prayer for her in my house. Mr. Meeke was just with me, (we being going out of town together;) he joined with me in prayer.

July 11th, (Tuesday.) Daniel, in fishing, fell dangerously into the water at the Weir, and escaped drowning very narrowly.

August 22nd, (Saturday.) I went to Dunham, and preached there the next day, in the forenoon; and at the chapel in the afternoon, at Bowden, on Heb. ii. 3. And at this time had the first knowledge of and acquaintance with that honourable person Sir George Booth, since Lord Delamere.

It pleased God there was much work on foot amongst souls; so that August 25th, a private fast was kept at Abigail Illingworth's, upon the score of several souls that were troubled. This was a mighty sickly time in these parts. At an exercise at Middleton, August 27th, (Thursday,) I had a note of fifteen persons put up to be prayed for that were sick. On this account a fast was kept at Manchester, September 23rd, (Wednesday;) Mr. Clayton and I were to carry it on. Several texts I thought of, and lest he should take it, I took one I thought more secret, Psalm xli. 4. And when I came to church he chose that very text; (as I understood afterwards, having preached many sermons upon it formerly at Blackburn.) My distraction was great. There was a kind of a competition between him and me, and I had rather have been cut out by any man than he; and I was so discomposed, that I thought he had

left me nothing to say. Mr. Meeke was to pray between; and, as he was going up into the pulpit, I went out with him, and told him my case, and desired him to remember me. He gave me this word of wise counsel, Alter not a word you had to say. I went home, and thought to have said something by way of apology. I was so discomposed I could not frame a line or two of sense to such a purpose. In this plight I went to the church, and up into the pulpit; and did look up to the Lord to pity me. I named the text. A vast congregation there was; and I believe several, upon repeating the words, were in as great fear and trouble for me as I had been before. It pleased God to help me to speak a little sense by way of apology, — That it could be no design that we should be both on a subject, but it was God's providence. And I had not time to take out what I had composed that my reverend brother might have prevented me in; and, therefore, if they met with the same things, it would be stronger evidence against them if they observed it not, &c. The Lord helping me in this, of which I could make nothing in my thoughts before, it did so encourage me that I went on with much alacrity and freedom; and the hand of the Lord was mightily upon me, and then I could discern out matter and method to differ, and I had room enough besides him. And it was such an opportunity as I had not ordinarily had for inward enlargedness and height of affections. And the Friday after, one Bagaley of Newton, that had been an ill liver, came to me, seemingly greatly troubled; and I am confident he shall answer for it as a conviction, for that it was. And a good while he forbore his old course; but after he fell off again. But I had the comfortable hope a great while of a seal to that day's ministry. And God did mightily own, and signally encourage me by the providence of that day. But the time was exceedingly sickly.

And now having had many weary thoughts about Gausworth, the care of which place lay continually heavy upon me, I could hear that they reproached me for leaving them; and it signified little, I thought, to say much to them how I was troubled for them; but God knew it, and I laboured all that I could to get them settled;

and indeed I never could settle nor look up at Manchester to any purpose till this was done, and per varios casus, &c., it came to a wished for settlement. First Mr. Henshaw trifled with it, and forsook us. Then Mr. Orme supplied it, and the people had a mind of him many of them; and he pretended unresolvedness, and when it was offered him, would not accept of it, and then afterwards secretly and underhand would have obstructed us. Mr. Hayhurst I motioned to it, and he failed too; and thus we toiled and wearied ourselves about three months. At length Mr. Langley and I began to think of Mr. Edge again. And so I set it on foot with the honest party, and they were satisfied, after the trial of others, that he was fittest for them. Then I had Colonel Manwareing to deal with, whose consent I could not in ingenuity act without. And so I wrote to him to entreat him to help me as he had done. And this fell in to facilitate it, that Mr. Jeinson had gotten to preach there one Lord's day, and some of his friends gave out they might happen have the living and ask us no leave; and this I acquainted the Colonel with, (though I had put in caution above against him or any one else that should offer to come to Gausworth without my knowledge,) and entreated him to put on Mr. Edge to stir for it above, to prevent such designs as these were. The Colonel granted my desire, and wrought with Mr. Fitton, that since the estate was in suit, they should both consent to Mr. Edge to take the living, and so they did, and he came in by the broad seal in way of elapse after six months from the time of my admission to Manchester; and so September 26th, (Saturday,) I had the news that the order was granted for him, and he soon after had settlement, and the love of all the people but only John Swaine the younger, who would never be reconciled to him. But the providences were many about this business, remarkable and taking; and when there was a sentence of death upon the settlement of that place, especially as to Mr. Edge, that at last it should return so easily to him on whom I first pitched and most desired, it was a great rejoicing unto me. And while I was wishing that they in Gausworth knew but what I knew about it, just at that time John Johnson and Tho. Reddish came to see me, and we rejoiced together.

September 29th, (Tuesday.) Mr. Nathaniel Baxter having commenced Bachelor, by the advice of Mr. Woodcock and his desire to me also on his behalf, came to live with me to have the benefit of our library, &c.; and he was a great comfort to me, being a very honest hearted man, and of exemplary conversation. After a time he repeated and prayed with the people, in summer time in the open congregation, which was a great advantage and entrance of him, and also a great benefit to the people; for our Sabbaths then were full days, no time to spare or lost, by this means. He was with me not so long as he desired, being laden with invitations, and at last by Mr. Ambrose his means he was settled at Michael's near Garstang.

October 6th, (Tuesday,) I was at Preston at a provincial meeting, where I saw and had entrance into acquaintance with sundry grave and eminent ministers, many and most of them since got to their rest, as Mr. Hyat, Mr. Johnson of Halsal, Mr. Ambrose of Garstang, Mr. Latham, &c.

October 10th, (Saturday,) I was over at Gausworth about the sacrament, and found the people somewhat unruly; but I was not much discomposed by it, having assurance how it must be; and after all, these frivolous stirs vanished. Mr. Orme was there, and slipped away and would not speak with me, which more disobliged me to him, and made the better for the business. And this remarkable thing I observed now, that Mr. Jeinson should never make applications to Colonel Manwaring for his son, for I perceive it might have prevailed to our further difficulty. And a greater thing than all was, that my cousin should never motion for his own son Edward, who now after took up with Goostree, upon Mr. Edge his removal; and if they had moved for him, I could not have opposed it, and the people would have been loath to have admitted him, he being young and untried as yet. But the trouble was spared us by the good providence of God, and no occasion of unkindness herein given, which would have been very grievous to me at this time, when my spirit was so raw and broken from the many troubles that had been upon me. November 9th, (Monday,) I heard that Mr. Edge had his order for Gausworth, and that business now soon went off my hands.

October 19th, (Monday,) I kept in private with my own family.

October 20th. The town met at the booths, and I gave in my answer to them, that I had no design in coming to them but as far as I was able to consult God's glory and their interest; and in engaging but for a year, they knew the reason of it to be the unsettlement of the place I left; and now there being hopes it would be settled, I was willing, upon their desire and unanimous renewing of their call to me, to give up myself to the work of the Lord amongst them, which was very kindly received and gladly by the generality; and no sequel of it ever gave me cause to repent of it.

October 27th, (Tuesday,) I received a joyful letter from Mr. Hartley, wherein he expressed a deal of sense of a work upon his soul. I had present joy and business from it, and hopes lasted a good while, and he hath been always friendly to me.

November 6th, (Friday,) I received a letter of the sad news of the death of Randle Sillitoe of Newcastle, my good friend. He was one that truly loved us, and prayed for us, and I thought myself weakened much in the loss of him.

November 16th, (Monday.) Mr. Wollen called us to a day of thanksgiving. He used to keep a day about the 2nd of this month as his birth day.

I heard from Mr. Langley concerning Mr. James Ball, (son of that eminent servant of God Mr. Jo. Ball.) He was fellow of Peter House in Cambridge, and fell into exceeding great affliction of spirit, and attempted oft to make away himself. He was brought down to Mr. Manwareing of Whitmore (the house where his father spent his time in relation unto it). He had oft essayed to hurt himself, and could bring nothing to pass, they did so diligently and carefully watch him. At last he (in design to bring it about) seemed to cheer up, and to conceal his temptation, and so seemed pretty well, and Mr. Manwareing took him abroad with him; and one day going to Stafford or Derby with him, he thought to do his business; and so, it being market day, he slipped into the town and asked for a pennyworth of ratsbane. They usually made up such papers before the market day, to have them ready of such, and worm

seed, and brimstone, &c.; and so the lad hastily gave him one of those papers. He put it in his doublet, and when he went to bed he got some drink and put this in and drank it. He soon became wondrous sick, and verily thought he should die; and then the temptation went off, and he saw his grievous mistake, and heartily repented and acknowledged the foulness of his attempt. And it pleased God it proved a mistaken paper, and was only brimstone which made him sick for the present; which providence did hugely affect and freed him from all temptations of that kind whilst he lived. This induces to remembrance another sad story that was notoriously known not many years since, of Colonel Egerton of the Shaw here in Lancashire, who used to take flour of brimstone for some distemper he had; and he sent the maid into the closet, and she mingled it with milk, and he drunk it, and it proved mercury; and by this woful mistake he was poisoned, and died within a few hours.

November 22nd, (Lord's day.) I having long preached on that subject of Job, "Vain man would be wise," and hearing that John Broxup jeered at it when he came Sturbridge fair, and said he found me still riding this poor ass's colt — it might might have been Ra. Wollen's old horse, for the length of time I had rid it, &c. — I was not well able to bear the reproach; but I thought I was to do more than that to prevent others' sin, and so I determined to pursue the same subject upon another text, Gal. vi. 3.

December 2nd, (Wednesday.) I preached at the funeral of one they called (Justice) Hibbart, of Droisden. He had been a very drunken fellow. He had buried his wife half a year since, and rejoiced mightily at it; and bought him a new horse to ride about upon. The last Saturday night he was very late in the town, and was in drink. A man would have brought him home, but he would not let him. Howbeit, the man did bring him over the water, and so left him in the ordinary way to his own house, and not far from it. And he strangely missed his way, and turned down another lane back again to the water, and so was drowned; and found Nov. 30th, (Monday,) carried two miles down the water. His wife was

an orderly woman, and oft in her lifetime feared this very thing; it being his constant practice to come home at such hours. God laid her to rest, but brought the thing thus upon him. He was the next man laid in the lodge at Manchester after John Rawlinson, that was a drunken wretch, and broke his neck this summer over the churchyard wall, and none ever knew how it came to pass. When they came to engage me to preach for him, I told them I would upon condition I might have my liberty to improve the providence, which they freely assented to; and I preached on Eccles. vii. 17, and did what I could to shew the danger of the gross wickedness that abounded in some.

December 3rd, (Thursday.) That day twelve months that was kept for humiliation for the breach of the congregation, they now kept in a day of thanksgiving for the settlement of it. Mr. Angier and Harrison preached. Mr. Angier preached on Gen. xlviii. 21.

December 5th, (Saturday.) I preached at the funeral of old Francis Hollinworth, father to my reverend predecessor. He lived (as they said) to above one hundred. I preached on Zech. viii. 4.

December 14th, (Monday.) Mr. George Proudlove dying, left me Isaiah lvii. 16, to preach upon; and it being a subject I thought (and expressed it) that God might intend it for the need and good of some soul in particular. And so it came to pass, for Mrs. Wollen, that had long, long lain under doubt of her condition, began to receive settlement by this very sermon; though there were many odd passages before the matter was brought to pass.

December 12th, (Saturday.) I received a letter at night from Mr. Edge, whereby I understood how things went a little cross at Gausworth; though the implacable baseness of some, I believe, shall not hinder the work there. Mr. Edge has as many for him as ever I had the least comfort from. And the Lord did carry on this in despite of all opposition. But January 22nd, (Friday,) I received a letter from him, wherein he acquaints me how now the greatest let to him about Gausworth, was want of an enlivened heart for his duty. The Lord did so soon change matters there. Ere while, way could not be made, of any fashion almost, to get him thither, or

to settle him quietly there; and now it is brought to an heart for duty, and all is done. This rejoiced me exceedingly, and I was henceforward no more sad about Gausworth.

January 1st, (Friday.) Mr. Hollinworth used to preach on New Year's day. I was willing to have done it; but Mr. Heyricke took me off. But it was not well taken; and I resolved it should not be so done again; and so I did preach every New Year's day after as long as I had my liberty to preach in Manchester. The first year when I would have preached, this was said to obstruct it, Since all holy-days were put down, why should that be kept? The last I preached, this was objected, that it was one of the principal festivals, and unless I would preach about the circumcision of our Saviour, it was not convenient I should preach. So much alteration there was in the strain of the times in a few years.

January 17th, being Lord's day in the morning, my dear friend and brother Mr. Meeke died; who was an hearty downright Christian, and one in whom I could put much confidence; and intimate we were. I could say of him as the apostle, Phil. ii. 20. But the Lord snatched him from me thus soon after my coming to Manchester, to my just grief and great loss.

January 27th, (Wednesday.) About this time, by the carelessness of a servant, my little boy Peter had a dangerous fall off the dresser; and fell upon his head. He might well have been slain thereby.

January 28th, (Thursday.) In going up town, it being a hard frost and slippery, I had a dangerous fall down the stone steps that go out of the church-yard into the Hanging Ditch. My feet slipped from under me, and I fell on my back against the steps; yet the Lord wonderfully preserved me, that I had no hurt at all thereby. I said, All my bones shall praise thee.

January 30th, (Saturday.) I was about this time much used to go to Zachary Taylor's at an evening, to play at shuffle board. I was oft checked for this, lest I was too much concerned in it; as after, about going to Mr. Minshull's in an evening. And I thought this a rational resolution in the case,—Not to go forth for this recrea-

tion unless I had been close at serious business all day; not to go forth to this too, if I had been diverted from business other ways. And for mirth, which I was afraid of taking too great a latitude in,— I thought it was my duty to let some savoury thing fall, where I had spoken merrily; or to count myself truly in debt, for as much serious discourse, for every jest I had told.

February 2nd, (Tuesday.) There was an horse in the town of Manchester to be seen, that was taught to do strange things for such a creature to do. Many had gone to see it. Mr. Heyricke sent to me to go with him to see him; and unless I went, he would not go. I seriously considered the thing, and resolved not to go. (1.) Though the art be notable, and the creature's sagacity and docibility remarkable, yet I am not satisfied that their calling is lawful to go about with him, and to follow no other business; and then our going to such a thing, and partaking with the unlawfulness of it, encourages and supports it. (2.) At the best, it is but curiosity. (3.) And if I were satisfied to go, yet for others' sake I durst not, according to the apostle's rule, 1 Cor. 8. For, 1. Others may take it generally for a show, and may go to any that comes though never so vain for the matter of it; and may not know any difference in going to this more than another. 2. If people should deride our going, and should say when we preach, As strict as they are, they can go to see a show, &c., what a sad thing would it be? Nugæ in clericis sunt blasphemiæ. (4.) This I thought of, — To go, might be a sin; not to go, I knew was no sin. And therefore this was the safer way. I went up to Mr. Heyricke; and the Lord made the resolution for both easy, and neither went.

I will record a remarkable providence which was thus far related to me, as it was told to me by the Lord's order this very day by the person herself; and is for my use, and may be of use to those that shall come after. Old aunt Key of Bury said it was then sixty years past. There was a grievous famine, and her husband was careless and took no heed to provide for her and the children; and they worked hard, and were almost starved. Insomuch, that on one of her children, down began to grow on her cheeks for hunger. She then said she

would go amongst her friends that were able, and would bring them enough home. And so one day she went to a sister, and another friend, &c. And when she came there, she prevented her asking anything, saying, O, how do you do? you have a living; we are almost pulled in pieces by the poor, and know not what to do. These complaints from them filled her heart so that she said nothing to any of them of her condition. One of them invited her to take a piece of bread and cheese with her, to eat as she went over the moor; and she took it and put it in her bosom, and went homeward. At Bury, [meeting] a woman that sold penny jannocks, she asked her how she sold them; she told her, and bade her take as many of them home with her as she would, and pay her when she could. She modestly and thankfully took one. And so came home amongst those children with the bread and cheese and penny jannock. And when they came about her she pulled it out and laid it before them, and prayed God to bless it to them, and to make it out that way; and got out into the barn and poured out her soul to the Lord, and said if he did not pity them, she and the children must needs starve. This thought came into her mind as she was at prayer, That such a man had meal. Now she knew not before that he had meal; and she thought what was she the nearer when she had no money. But she told her husband of it, and he bade her go to him and see; and she found he had good store. And they made a bargain with him, that he should let them have those several measures of meal, — and he to have the crop of such a field, to pay himself out of, when it was come up. The great ark by this means was presently filled, which she hugely rejoiced to see. The next morning the man sadly forethought the bargain, and said he never was so over seen in his life; but she persuaded him to let the meal alone, and so it continued. But her friends in this meantime were sadly troubled with thoughts of her condition; remembered she had been there and had said nothing; but they thought her condition might be sad, and they all sent her some good thing towards her support. One, a piece of cloth worth five pounds; another, a piece of fustian, &c.; so that in one eight days' time, she had the house full. Yet this she noted, that her

friends' bowels were shut up, till God had relieved her first himself. But in the time of famine, verily thou shalt be fed. They shall not be ashamed in evil time, and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied. Psalm xxxvii. 3, 19.

I shall subjoin another to this almost like it, which I received from Mrs. Fornace June 4th, 1664, of a woman in the same parish of Bury, Ann Haslome by name, that hath a sad husband, and he spends all that he gets. She hath several children, and they are little ones; yet they card and she spins, and have much ado to get bread. Sometimes, when they have worked hard all day, they ask whether there be anything for supper, and she sometimes hath nothing. Why then, they will say, pray mother take the book, and go to prayer, that we may go to bed, and God may send us something in the morning; and so they contentedly go to their beds, and look and like very well. When she wants anything, she says she makes a bundle of the promises, and goes to God in prayer, and he helps her some way. Once they had run on the score 1s. 6d. for milk, and she did not know how to pay, and she forbore sending. The goodwife asked why she sent not? She answered, she knew not how to pay for what she had had, and so was loath to go on any further. The children began to cry that they must have no milk. Shortly some one gave her 1s. 6d., and when she had it she burst out into these words, "Lord, I see thou wilt have us to have milk." When she was with child, she counted her husband should have brought her home something, and he came home penniless, and ready to be relieved by her. A neighbour then promised to lend her some clothes for the child. And when the time drew near that she should be delivered, she sent the wench to Bury for a farthing candle, a farthing in pins, and a farthing in pepper, &c. The candle was lest she should labour in the night, the pins to pin the clothes on the child, &c. When the girl came there, the woman said she owed twopence already, and they could not let her have no more pennies. When she was in labour, she sent to two or three goodwives, and they were not well, and said they could not come. She sent to her that promised to lend her the clothes, and she could not spare any. When she had all these returns

together, she said, "Lord, wilt thou do all thyself?" And so indeed it came to pass. She was brought to bed by daylight, and needed no candle; two of the women sent for made shift to come; and the woman that promised the clothes repented her denial and sent the clothes, and all was well. When she was in bed, her sister fell upon her husband, and said he was no husband, to provide nothing for her against such a time. Why (says she) sister, I have enough, I want nothing. Why (says she) here's nothing to make you meat of. Why (says she) I need none. She is always cheerful, and unwilling to receive anything from others, thinking it her duty to live by her own labour, and still says, it never grieves her when they have nothing; but when they have no work, then she knows not what to do; this is the greatest trouble of all other to her. She had then lately pawned her coat, and said she knew not how to get it out; but if God will have her to have the coat, he will help her to get it out. She sent me commendations by Mrs. Fornace at the time aforesaid, and is, I believe, yet alive. A notable instance of a contented poor woman that hath learned to want, (Phil. iv. 12,) and what a mean condition God can keep up the heart under. Upon some account of these other passages given to Mrs. Warburton of the Grange, she told me this, January 25th, 1666. A woman that had been her nurse was wife to a sea-carpenter, who was a careless man of her, and spent all he could get. She was reduced to work for her living; yet few knew her condition or looked after her but Mrs. Berckley (Mrs. Warburton's mother) who used to let her have sometimes 20s. when she needed it, and she did work for it. Mrs. Berckley used in summer always to go ten or twenty miles out of London to their summer house, and not to return till winter. This poor woman with her child was now got without money, without bread, without work, and so when [she] and the child had fasted a day or two, and no help appeared, she sate her down and wept sadly one evening The child seeing her weep so, said to her, "Mother, do not weep so, and I will ask you no bread." This word moved her bowels more, and caused her passion of weeping to return and increase upon her. But they went to bed, and that night she dreamed that Mrs. Berckley was

come home, and had sent for her; but when she waked she thought it was an unlikely thing, for she never used to return out of the country till the time of the year, and concluded she was in likelihood to be starved before she would come. She slept again, and dreamed the same dream, and awaked in the same distrust in the thing. But she was got up, she dressed herself and child, and thought she would go to the house, and make some errand to inquire after her welfare, and she should see whether she was at home or no. When she came there, and knocked at the door, Mrs. Berckley being come of some unusual business over night, and to stay only a day or two, was in her closet, and looked out and called her to her. When she came up, and had asked of one another's welfare, she told her she looked poorly and sadly, and would know what the matter was. She burst out into weeping, and after some time told how it was with her. She then comforted her, and told her she would help her, and gave her work and 20s. And so she was just at that nick of time preserved from starving by this special providence.

There was much work now on foot with souls. One Mary Reinolds under great troubles; and March 1st, (Monday,) I was told that her husband said to her, Mr. N. it is that hath brought you into this condition, and you must never come out of it as long as you hear him. It engaged me to pray harder for her settlement and peace; for I thought upon this, that if any poor creature should be swallowed up of over much sorrow, it might prove the hardening of the hearts of other sinners to their own destruction. I remembered what Sir Ch. Adderly once said in way of reproach to some eminent startling minister, that he made several to hang themselves.

March 2nd, (Tuesday,) I received a letter from Mr. Hough which reported that villanous made story of the host that was carried away by bears. It was not confuted till March 23rd, that I had written to Mr. Merriton, and he assured me of the falsity of it. It was false; but it occasioned some true ones to be reported to me upon the telling of it. Mr. Hartley told us of one Ralph that then thrashed at Strangeways with him — how about seven years before, he had been in a fit of sickness, and wanted relief; asked his wife to lend him

some money; she had 20s. by her at that time, but wished she might never see if she had any. He sent her to borrow money, and when she came home she complained of her eyesight, and fell blind forthwith, and hath been so ever since.

Old Mr. Rootes told me several the like. As, an apparitor at Blakeley, when old Mr. Paget was there, came in among the communicants and took all their names, and bragged that he would present them all at the visitation. The next Lord's day he resolved to go to Bolton to entrap Mr. Gosnall and his communicants in like manner. On the Sabbath morning when he was getting up, something, as he thought, gave him a dust on the neck; he fell immediately sick, and died within two hours. Some godly men came in when he was dead, as neighbours, and providentially saw the paper and burned it; and so the mischief by him was prevented.

At Gorton Mr. Rootes himself catechised all that came to the sacrament. And a man and his wife and daughter came, and he began to catechise the daughter. What (says the man) will you catechise her? Ay (says he) and you too. He forthwith calls his wife and daughter away, and said he would never come there more; and before the next Lord's day he and his wife were both dead.

One Mr. Higinson at Leicester, a precious minister, (who after went into New England,) preached against promiscuous communions on those words, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs." A man in the congregation reviled him sadly about it. He was shortly stricken sick; after a time he got up again and thought he mended; went over the way to a shop window, and his neighbour was congratulating his recovery. He said he hoped he should be well again now. Suddenly the hickup took him, and being very extremely on him, says he, "Now I am gone to the dogs," and went home and died.

Another man had a very religious woman to his wife; and coming home and not finding her within, said she was gone to some conventicle; but, says he, I will find her out. So he went, and did find the place where she was, and stayed till they had done, and took the names of the people as they went out. At last the minister came

out himself, and he then rejoiced, and said he was sure he would be gone at the bishop's visitation, which was to be within the fortnight, and the people had met that day to seek God about Mr. Higinson's liberty in fear of the visitation. But that very day in which he should have presented Mr. Higinson was he carried to the grave.

Mr. Brisco then told of a man that had been hunting, a fat corpulent man, and was saying to another like to him, "If thou and I should die to-night, the devil would have a notable breakfast." The man that said so died that night. He said this happened in the Filde country in Lancashire within this six weeks.

On March 10th, (Wednesday,) Mr. Scholes told me a considerable passage of himself: that a gentleman of quality came on purpose to quarrel with him in his own house, about his preaching against set forms of prayer, &c. And he was suddenly taken with the hickup that it calmed him exceedingly, and hastened him away much frightened with it.

March 22nd, (Monday,) I had an odd and sad case brought me. A man lately staying out late on a Saturday night, found his wife almost distracted at it at his return. Hereupon he fell down on his knees and said, "Cursed be he that drinks any strong beer these seven years." His wife ran to him to have stopped his mouth; but he said, "Nay, it is done, and you are the cause of it." Now this vow proceeded from that spite that usually accompanies passion. His was not love to drink, but to company.

March 27th, (Saturday.) Old John Heywood of Saddleworth came again to me to bespeak me to the exercise there for some month. I had intended to have excused it, because of my weak body and the great distance, &c., but I found the good man so heartily and resolutely importunate, that I did yield to him. And in discourse with him he told me how many years he had trudged about in that work, and that Mr. Angier once asked him whether he was better in the world or worse since he took that pains, and he said he was better. Mr. A. answered he was glad, for he desired that such men as he might prosper: 2 Chron. xxvii. 6. God will indeed bless those that are eminently serviceable for him. I was so taken with his faithful-

ness, that I not only yielded to him for that time, but resolved and promised not to deny him whilst he and I lived, if not otherwise hindered; for I would be loath to discourage the spirit which the Lord had put upon him. And I did not fail him (save only one summer that I was by sickness freely excused by him himself) until the fatal August 24th —62, just about which time, when his work, which he had been in above thirty years, was now quite routed by the silencing of all those that upheld that exercise, it pleased God to remove him by death.

April 5th, (Monday.) I was at the meeting of ministers which was used every first Monday in the month, at the ministers' houses, by course. I was affected to think that I went and came alone at this time, whenas the time before Mr. Heyricke and Mr. Meeke rode with me; and now I had left Mr. Heyricke sick, and Mr. Meeke in his grave, since the last and first time I was there.

April 23rd, (Friday.) Mr. Ambrose sent me one of his books he had lately printed, called Looking unto Jesus; which I took as a great honour and kindness, having then but little acquaintance with him.

May 2nd, (Lord's day.) My dear brother Machin and sister came to see us the day before; and he preached thrice this day. My daughter Betty was dangerously ill again just at this time, whilst he was with us. Mr. Heyricke now took his journey towards London; and was away till June 9th. May 4th, I parted with my brother Machin. May 5th, (Wednesday,) I went into Cheshire to several places; and lodged at Gausworth, where I found things comfortably settled. The next day, being May 6th, I preached at Maxefield exercise; and, after sermon, was forced to set out homewards. And when I was afraid of coming home, lest sad tidings should have met me about the child, whom I left sick, or other things that my mistrustful heart was casting at, — behold, I found what I thought not of, to my great comfort, my three brothers, Robert, Stephen, and Richard, were come to see me, and had come in that morning. It was great joy to me; (they stayed with me from this, May 6th, to May 12th.) On the Lord's day, May 9th, my brother Richard

preached the morning lecture, on John vii. 17; and my eldest brother, Mr. Heyricke's course, on Acts xvi. 30; and I preached in the afternoon, in my own course, on 2 Cor. vii. 6. The Monday morning my brother preached again, on John xi. 3. And these two days we dined and supped out every meal, at Mr. Wollen's, James Barret's, Ralph Shelmerdine's, and Mr. Minshull's. On the Tuesday, May 11th, Mr. Edward Halls, an old acquaintance of my brothers and mine came in; and we prevailed with him to preach at the Classe; and so he did, on John xiv. 23. We had a huge thick flowing in of friends, and all together. But on Wednesday, May 12th, I parted with my brothers. But this was remarkable, that my grandfather, by the mother, was born in Salford. We went, when together, to see the house those three brothers were born in. (It is now in the hands of Mr. Francis Worthington, my good friend.) They were Robert Williamson, D.D., and parson of Tichmarsh; John Williamson, M.A., and minister somewhere about Louth in Lincolnshire; and Henry Williamson, B.D., parson of Connington in Huntingdonshire. There was one sister, who married one Dickenson, a joiner. His son was Mr. Edmond Dickenson, late parson of Pertnall in Bedfordshire; and one sister, married to —— Tresham, in Northamptonshire. Another, Margaret, married to one Percival, in Ardwick. She was an old woman, and a very gracious good woman; and she was now with us. And she had heard her three uncles preach all of a day at Manchester; and she desired that I would supply my own course, and that we would all preach of a day, that were the grand-children of the youngest of those three; and so we did, as before said; which the old woman greatly rejoiced in. And much notice was taken of it, and the like not remembered, save only of the three Gees, that did once so preach at Manchester. But thus Providence cast me to dwell there, and to be employed where my grandfather was born and brought up; and should once have been Warden of the College. Had the patent upon the death of Dr. Dee; and Mr. Bourne came up and sued for it. And they being great friends, he would not stand in his way, and so surceased the prosecution of it; and Murray soon stepped in. But [his missis.]

On May 14th, (Friday,) soon after their departure, I fell ill of a cold; and had a pretty sharp (though short) fit of sickness. I was kept in near ten days. Mr. Angier and Mr. Walker kept a fast (that fell that week to be kept) for us at Manchester. Old Mrs. Hartley dying, I was forced out on Sabbath in the afternoon, to preach at her funeral; which I performed with some difficulty. The Lord's day after was Whit-sunday; and I preached, in order to the fair, in the afternoon, (as I used to do,) on James iv. 15. I had at this time my first acquaintance with Col. Jo. Birch.

I had, ever since the death of Mr. Meeke, taken what care I could of Salford; had kept the sacrament monthly myself; and preached oft in a forenoon there. But now we had great trouble about the congregation; Mr. Browne getting, underhand, a presentation from Mr. Booth unto it. The people generally unsatisfied about it; and long trouble it was to us. When his commission for approbation was come down, he was referred unto us to be approved of; and then, having the power in our hands, we were loath to render him utterly incapable for any place, by our return, and yet could not approve him to that. We told him truly our strait, and so this expedient was found out, That he should be approved to Salford, and should apply himself to his study, and endeavour to win their consent; and if not, he promised faithfully, in such a time to relinquish the place. And so he came in there. But when the time came, the people declared their dislike, and expected his removal, according to his promise. But he very sinfully denied, and went off from his promise, which was canvassed before Mr. Booth himself when he was over with them; and was a great exercise unto us. And to see what trouble some men may create, and how weak others may be in their indulgence to them, and tenderness of them. Afterwards, when Hoole fell void, by Mr. Brownsword his going to Kendal, the patroness, a good gentlewoman, to the end the place might be provided for well and fitly, devolved the care of the business upon Mr. Angier, Mr. Gee, and Mr. Tilsley. And we thinking that it was as much the grounded prejudice of the people at Salford, as his weakness, that made him so unfit for that place, did now set

in to have him presented to Hoole; and they did it upon our motion. Where he was several years; carried vainly and poorly: was a reproach unto us. And now at the change of the times, he came to be chaplain at Manchester, upon Mr. Richardson's going out, (on August 24th, '62,) and hath left that place to miserable curates; sometimes a drunken fellow, one Chrichley, &c., and sometimes none at all, for several months together. Such a standing reproach is that poor man to us; yet out of compassion and better hopes of him, acted for him; and as little doth he acknowledge it, or care for us.

June 24th, (Thursday.) I made a shift, with much difficulty, to go to Newcastle, to take up, if I could, their differences there between Mr. Hall and the town. How strangely the Lord ordered things here! He came thither about three years since. It was by my motion that he went thither. Some time after he gave me solemn thanks in a letter, that I had motioned him to Newcastle. That Michaelmas I went thither, and lay at Mr. Bagnall's; and the mayor and aldermen came to give me a visit, and it was to give me thanks especially for being an instrument in bringing Mr. Hall unto them, in whom they took such high content. And now at this time, the mayor came and appeared against him; and very sad I found their differences to my admiration and great sorrow, and to my after trouble. For the year after, I was forced to meet there again, and spent two days together, in my journey into my own country; and could do no good. The jealousy was so high on both parts, and the devil had rooted such deep prejudices that they lived in no comfort whilst they were together; and were then forced to part. I could not but admire at the Lord's goodness, that spared me in this respect. And though attempts were made to have raised factions, as in Mr. Clayton's business at first, and after about the morning lecture; yet the Lord did but exercise me at present, with the fears of such things, and he prevented the effect and issue of them.

And now indeed I had a little exercise and trouble about the morning lecture. Mr. Heyricke, when he went to London, told me of himself, that he would have me choose whom I would for the

morning lecture; for most of the burthen, he was sensible, lay upon me, and that it most concerned me who was had, and named Mr. Baxter. Several of the feoffees were for him for the library too; but some of the town, (the remainder of the old grudge about Mr. Clayton,) were hugely against him, meo nomine. They could not carry the place in the library; but after a meeting or two they chose Mr. Lees. July 22nd, (Thursday.) Several of the best in the town were cordial for Mr. Baxter. But when some others appeared against him, and Mr. Stopford, a young confident man, just come from the university, bestirred himself and sought to get in, — and I saw the Warden clearly forsake me, — and also I had a task not only to get the place for Mr. Baxter, but to get him to accept of it, (for he was backward through real modesty, and sense of a feared unfitness for it,) I was forced to sit down and to waive the contest. I think I could have carried it for the morning lecture; but I was loath to revive an opposition against myself, and to bring him into a place under so great a disadvantage. And therefore, July 29th, (Thursday,) at a meeting, we chose Mr. Stockport into the lecturer's place. There was none else named. And how the Lord ordered matters concerning him we may touch afterwards.

June 30th, (Wednesday,) I preached at Heywood Chapel to a very great congregation. Sundry went away, and could not hear. Little Betty now had the rickets, and could not go; she was at James Hardman's to be bathed for them, and stayed there from June 5th to July 24th, and was a little better, but not much. It was a great affliction to us. But it pleased God, the summer after, by an ointment of Mr. Sorocold's, to recover her; and sending her into the country, not able to go, to Mr. Wilson's of Poppythorne, June 27th —59, her mother and I went one day to see her, July 21st, and she met us on her feet, which was a great rejoicing to us. And afterwards when some friends saw her dance to the virginals, they were much taken with the mercy, when they considered that they thought they should never have seen her go. When I preached at this time at Heywood, it pleased God that a little child of Colonel Standish, by a slip at the chapel in the same seat with my girl, at the very

time, had the addition of the dislocation of his ankle to his distemper. I counted it a great mercy that mine was spared in that kind.

July 2nd, (Friday.) We kept a private day in the house of Benjamin Brooke in Broughton, the first that was ever kept in that house, and as some thought, in that township. It was in the house that was William Crabtree's, whose daughter this Benjamin married, a woman well disposed, and of a sorrowful spirit. He was that famous mathematician, and built the house; and I hope a better mystery resides in it now. So did the Word prevail, and increased at this time.

July 22nd, (Thursday.) I heard with what a discouraging providence the Lord met Mr. Cole, in his removal to Preston from Newcastle-upon-Tyne; his wife's mother going to meet them, was in the coach when it was overturned in a very dirty place, and was hurt, and died within two or three days. So Mr. Bradshaw at Maxesfield hath, since his going to Maxefield, buried two children. What a mercy it is that I have buried none here! for I should have been huge afraid of my way if I had met a drawn sword in it!

Mrs. Cheetham dying, she left £50 to be given to ten ministers; some she named. I was unknown to her, and looked not in the least upon myself in any capacity to have been one. But Mr. Tilsley, one of her executors at this time, told me he intended me for one, and after did pay me £5 on that score. Mrs. Hartley also left me £5 by her will.

July 23rd, (Friday,) I was sent for to Ringley, to visit one John Walworth, that had been a professor, but had sadly disgraced his profession by drinking. And it seems at my sermon there the last year, on 2 Thes. iii. 1, he was (as he said) so stricken through, that he was never well since. This calls to mind two or three passages of this nature which I will here record in perpetuam rei memoriam. The one which old Mr. Langley told me January 29th, 1651, of one that had invited him to many private days, and yet was after suspected and ill taxed for adultery, as going to Chester with another man's wife, and there lay with her as his own. The hostess of the house reported that they were the most orderly couple that ever she had; they went to prayers in their chamber, &c. This and

other suspicious carriages Mr. Langley plainly and faithfully told him of, as he was on a time going from his own house in Northwich parish to Little Budworth (where he used in those days to preach on holidays.) He denied all. Mr. L. after much urging him, and could get no better answer, told him that for that once he should hold himself satisfied concerning him; but if ever he heard so again he would disclaim him. But he shortly gave offence again in the same kind. He died shortly after, and the good old man said he hoped the Lord had mercy on him.

A sadder instance was that of Captain Steele, uncle to Recorder Steele, who was governor of Beeston Castle, and upon a surprise, delivered up the castle. He was called to a council of war for it, and condemned to be shot to death for it. At his death he disclaimed all treachery, but God had taken away his courage. But he most freely acknowledged a desperate sin of this nature that he had lived in, and was suspected for, though he was a rare professor for his parts. It was thus occasioned. Being a cheese factor, he was about in the country, and came late to his inn. The maid of the house got up to let him in, and was all bare, and partly undressed. He took fire at this sight of her, and offered lewdness to her, which she resisted not; and so whenever he came that way, he lived in this sin with that woman. And now the Lord brought this shameful and untimely end upon him, as he acknowledged, in just judgment for that foul wickedness he had lived in. Mr. Stringer told me he was by at his death, and heard him make this acknowledgement, and gave excellent counsel to all that were by upon it; and so was shot to death. So true is that observation of Dr. Preston's, that seldom doth any professor of religion sin scandalously, but, though God may pardon their sin, and bring them to repentance, yet he doth usually bring some temporal judgment upon them to vindicate his name, and the honour of his service, &c.

But for the power of ordinances, one more shall only set down here. And that was of one in Ashton parish that was for some gross offence (some uncleanness I am sure) proceeded against and excommunicated by the Classis. He remained hardened, and went

away into Ireland, and was there some time; and yet God so owned his own ordinance, that he could never be quiet till he came back again to Ashton parish, and submitted there to open acknowledgment of his offence. It would be long before our consistorian brethren (in the way they manage discipline) could give any such instance.

July 26th, (Monday.) Mr. Wrigley was this day buried at London. He died July 22nd. He was a great tradesman, hath been high sheriff of the county, a knowing man, his wife an eminent Christian; and yet they could not hit it to live quietly and comfortably together, but lived in perpetual secret unkindness. It pleased the Lord eminently to testify against this miscarriage of theirs, and want of mutual forbearance. For he was necessitated to go to London, and left his wife weak. She died, and upon the news of her death he was suddenly taken in his warehouse, and sickened and soon died; and they never came together more, but were parted thus in their place of death, &c. And I do hope he was so wise a man, and so far a good man, as not to desire his wife's death; but if he could be contented with it, it was not long. And I have observed this, that God would have relations entirely fond one of another; and though through weakness there may be less comfort than otherwise might be expected, yet they should count the death of either a sad remedy. They should rather bear their burden, and take it for the measure of comfort that God cuts out for them. But to be glad of the death of even such a relation, is so unnatural (and believe displeasing to God) that let it be observed whether the survivor so affected lives long after.

But I thought Mrs. Rylands's case very sad at this time, that had buried two children, her eldest brother, her mother and father, and all in seven months.

July 30th, (Friday.) I heard this day of the drowning of Mr. Bell's son at Cambridge, and there is now an end of a deal of money, good education, fine parts, many expectations.

August 8th, (Lord's day.) I preached at Warrington in assistance of Mr. Yates (who had been long ill of an ague.) I left Dan

very ill when I went. When I came home the next morning I found him well, and Harry very sick. I even thought it must be which child the Lord pleaseth. I thought when I feared Daniel that I should then have lost my finest boy; and now Harry is sick, I think I should lose my best child. The one then seemed to have better parts some way, the other a better disposition. It may be that which is to go is usually, with us, the best, which we can worst part with. But I desire to put it to the Lord. This child raved this night, and was sadly out of order; and it pleased God the next morning his distemper was gone. So that heaviness endured for a night, but joy came in the morning. (Psalm xxx. 5.)

September 15th, (Wednesday.) My picture was brought home by Mr. Cunney this day. I was oft moved before I consented to have it drawn. Mr. Cunney offered to do it for half the price. I thought at that of the wise Roman that would have no statue, for he said he would rather have it asked, why such an one had no statue, than why he had one. My cousin Mosley did most turn me to it, by a word that fell from him, — That his father had died when he was an infant, and there was no picture of him, and how much he would give that he knew what sort of a man his father was; and so for his children's sake, he would have his picture drawn. And on this account I admitted it. I was but too much taken with my own shadow when it came home; but then I thought, a man should study both to be blameless and eminently active, that presumes to leave a picture behind him. If it put in mind either of evil or no good done by him, it is to little or bad purpose.

Now about this time old Robert Browne did break out against me, and did me very great wrong. He did about three quarters before, when I was casually at Ancoats, ask me about his son, what I thought of him. I knew his carriage to be naught, and that he was idle and studied not, and I very innocently told him all I thought. He laid up this in his heart; and because others did not upon his inquiry say the like, he laid it upon me as if I spoke out of malice, &c. Nay, I saw so much of the weakness of parents towards their children in this, as I had not done before, and also of other men's

prudence, (or cunning rather,) for some could take this story at old Robert's mouth, and report it in his sense twenty miles off to my prejudice, who, that very day that I spoke to Robert Browne, discoursed the very same to me concerning the young man. In process of time I came to speak with old Robert, and he made it a great business that I gave him never a word of comfort when I spake to him about his son. I asked him to consider whether I had offended, 1. When I spake not till he asked me. He would have had me spoken to please him, whether right or wrong. 2. He could not prove that I had spoken to any else to his prejudice. But the matter thus rested; and I bore the blame of all the trouble the young man's carelessness and unobliging carriages brought upon him, because I had spoken thus plainly to his father when urged (and as I thought advised with) by him. But in time the old man passed it off, though I know not that he thought me innocent to his dying day. We met together December 1st, (Wednesday,) and made as good end of our causeless quarrel as we could.

October 1st, (Friday.) Mr. Angier was now returned from his journey. He told me this amongst other things: that Boston, a town so famous for religion, did sadly degenerate; insomuch that a religious man had his head cloven by his own son; another man run his daughter-in-law through with a spit; and they are hanged up in the high way, one on one side, and the other on the other. And lately there was a company fetched a barrel of beer out, and drank it at the market cross. The magistracy is sleepy and careless, and all seems to go down there. Dr. Tuckney told him this, and said all things have their periods, and so religion was in places for a time. I was much affected at it, and reflected upon Manchester; and why our period should not come I know not.

October 17th, (Lord's day.) Mr. Brownsword, then living in Preston, riding to Hoole, (where he was minister,) his wife behind him, the waters being out, they were both in, and his wife torn from him and drowned, and never found (as I could hear of) to be buried. I remember Mr. Angier's letter to Mr. Meeke upon the

death of Mr. Hollinworth, wherein he says that it was some hint of comfort that he died on such a day, after such a duty, (for he had been at a private day.)

I had about this time, and oft after, an experience of the exceeding folly of showing anger, and expressing it, to a messenger that should come from another, towards the other person; and what I would not say to the person himself, why should I take liberty to vent myself to the person between? As when the steward sent to me by the clerk, on the fair day, to stay the sermon half an hour, I took on in way of dislike, and after bid him say nothing of it.

November 22nd, (Monday,) I was strangely preserved from and in a fall down the stairs, wherein the weight of my body was gone down upon my leg catched behind me.

The next morning, November 23rd, Rose being got up before day, and sate dressing her by the fire in the dining room, and a brick-bat fell down the chimney, by occasion of the chimney-sweeper sweeping in another chimney, and yet it was wonderfully diverted, so as not to hurt her or touch her.

I was oft taken off my studies by persons coming to me, many of them about the state of their souls. But I found oftentimes that I had very profitable hints by those occasions, which I could not have met with in my study.

December 4th, (Saturday.) Mr. Stopford being very ill of a cold, I prepared to preach the morning lecture for him December 5th; and because I was loath to divert my own course in the afternoon, I thought to preach on some text on purpose for that time. It was a frost and pinching cold, and I pitched on Psalm cxlvii. 15, 16, 17, especially intending to pass unto pity to the poor, that suffered most by such a season, in hunger and cold and nakedness. But when I was called up in the morning, there was a snow fallen, that I was forced to put on my boots, and was taken to the mid-leg every step in the streets. This made the subject more suitable, and some thought otherwise of it — especially one fellow (one Adam Nicholson) whom we used to laugh at, that said, either I knew what would be before, or could make a sermon between

my own house and the church; for he was sure there was no snow when I went to bed, and I could preach about it at six of the clock in the morning.

One of my children (it was Peter) had now been dangerously sick again, but the Lord restored it; and December 8th, (Wednesday,) my son Daniel was in the College Court, and was about, in his play, to throw a snowball, and a dog of Mr. Greene's came upon him, and pulled him down, and got hold of his leg. He frighted the child sadly. It was black with his teeth, and yet he had no hurt by it. Not long after, he fell in the school yard, and might have fallen down the rock to his utter spoiling, if the Lord had not prevented. Thus this child hath been saved by the Lord.

December 26th, (Lord's day.) After sermon I had the hap to say, I may be tedious, and therefore will be no longer. But methought this passionate word did so fall my spirit at the very instant, as is not to be expressed.

December 29th, (Wednesday.) I went to Newton in expectation to hear Mr. Angier and Mr. Bagshaw; but Mr. Bagshaw not coming, I was forced to preach, on John xvii. 11. But it was at this time that Mr. Angier preached on Luke iv. 25, 26, 27, and this he insisted much upon, — that God might send his prophets to single and particular souls, as Elias to one widow; and if they be used for the good of one soul, it is honour and use they should not despise. This I oft thought of, but now live to have great use of, when thus driven from our full fields wherein we wrought; and all our opportunity now lies in what we can do to a single soul, or a family here and there, where we may escape unto for refuge.

December 31st, (Friday.) I had a very pretty and considerable experiment in discourse with one James Bancroft, (servant then in the Yarne Croft, to Wm. Williamson.) He was affected with the Word, but most grossly ignorant, (as it was ordinary for the children and servants of such, as had run the way of separation.) I asked him how many commandments there were, and he told me ten; but he could not tell me one of them. I then asked him what he thought of such and such duties and sins; and he could

tell all these. So that I thought if men knew the commands to keep them, though they did not know them to remember them in the words of them, it was well, and a great mercy.

January 1. This Saturday being New Year's day, I did preach on Luke xiii. 8, 9; a subject my old cousin Percivall once heard my grandfather preach of here at Manchester.

January 16th, (Lord's day.) I had occasion in exposition about the gesture of prayer, to declare for either kneeling or standing, and that sitting was not a fit posture. And I could not but observe the obedience of that great congregation, that of all that day I could scarce see any sitting in prayer; whereas they had many of them (and of the better sort) much used it before.

We had now our great contest with the gentlemen in our parts about the government; and the papers became printed that had passed between them and the Classis. In the answer we printed, Mr. Harrison drew up the main, Mr. Angier the epistle; and the narrative of the whole business, and the answer to their preface, was put upon me; which I did as it is now printed. Then by the instigation of some of the town, and Mr. Ambrose his letter, (which is printed before it,) I assumed thoughts of printing the Sinner's Hope; which I got ready and sent up to the press the summer after, 1659, and it came down about Michaelmas unto us. The Lord did accept of the design of my heart therein, and gave me much encouragement thereby in the kind acceptance it found amongst my friends, and the good that I understood, in process of time, was done by it, to some persons that it came unto.

February 18th, (Friday.) Nathaniel Chadwick, a dyer, was buried. There were nine children left. The mother buried but a little before. We thought it a very hard providence that she was taken away from the family; but when he was gone too, we were much affected. The cries of the children at the funeral, moved most that were present. The Lord did stir up some to shew much kindness to them. Two of the boys successively chosen into the Hospital. And he stirred up Mr. Worthington eminently to look after the children, that they were all kept out of want. And I

believe he hath treasured up a blessing for his own children, for the kindness he hath shewed to these.

February 26th, (Saturday.) Mr. Aspden and Mr. Kenion told me the news of the death of Dr. Arrowsmith; which was a very great and real sadness to me, for the loss the university and church hath in it.

March 13th, (Lord's day.) I preached at Gausworth; and was greatly refreshed and rejoiced there to see that people so well provided for, and satisfied in Mr. Edge, and I felt myself much refreshed with them. I longed to see them all. We are kept out of our work at Manchester I know not how, or rather indeed overlaid with too much.

On March 21st, (Monday,) I received a letter from my cousin Unwyn, wherein he very faithfully tells me of some things, wherein he feared me, — especially in being too hasty in family duties.

March 30th, (Wednesday.) I understood that upon baptizing John Browne's child the last Lord's day, offence was taken at something I said about that ordinance; as if I did particularly aim at him. Insomuch that the steward wisely said, that he had as good have stood in a white sheet, &c. The words that were thus construed were, that I should say, That it was a great evidence for Christ against wicked men that led vicious lives, that yet they would bring their children, by which they were witnesses against themselves, &c. That which confirmed them in this thought was, because there had been some contest about choosing Mr. Worthington church-warden, when he was cried up in opposition; and then because I spake before the ordinance, and it was not usual. But alas, for this, 1. It was accidentally that I baptized that day. 2. The reason I spake was because Mr. Seddon preaching for me, I had more leisure to speak, and so did count it necessary that something should be said of that ordinance sometimes; and now being otherwise spared, I thought I ought to do it. 3. For the man, I knew him not. He is one that never spoke to me in his life. And after all was done, I asked Mr. Heyricke whether it

was him or no. 4. When all was done, I desired Mr. Heyricke to excuse my not coming home with the child; so far was I from any designed disgust to him. 5. I could not, till further informed, imagine what words I had said should give the offence; so far was I from any such design. 6. The words spoken that did offend were used constantly by me, whenever I spoke before baptism.

April 27th, (Wednesday.) Mr. Heyricke and I went to Stockport to give old Mr. Pagit a visit, who was come thither as parson. As he sat in his parlour, he told us among other things, That Bishop Moreton, in that very room, (for he was, when Bishop of Chester, parson of Stockport,) did say to him and some others, about non-conformity, that they despised the Common Prayer; but it had converted more than all their preaching could do or ever would do, or to that purpose. Which expression we much wondered at, from so learned a man, and so great a divine as he was.

May 2nd, (Monday,) Mr. Angier and I went towards Preston. On the next day, May 3rd, Mr. Colborne and I preached at Kirkham the exercise set up against antinomianism. I preached on 2 Samuel xi. ult., The thing that David did displeased the Lord. The Lord assisted me much. As we came home to Preston, Mr. Angier told something that I said about the punishment of the godly, was not so clear as it should have been. My base proud heart would have fretted about it. The Provincial Assembly was sat the next day, (being May 4th.) Mr. Radcliffe of Chester came vice-chancellor to Preston, and began his sitting that day. We went to visit him before sermon, and he went very piously to church with us; and after sermon sat the court. Old Mr. Wood preached on Hab. iii. 5. It was just at the time of our confusion, when the army had pulled up the parliament, &c. I there met with my old friend Mr. Thomas Parnell. Mr. Angier and I came to Chorley after six that night. And we fell into inward discourse all the way; and it made the journey very easy and pleasant unto us. And I remember the good man said, when near our journey's end, It was well you began this good discourse. So profitable and sweet is such converse at any time.

Just as I set out this journey, old Richard Fallows died, with whom I had taken pains in frequent visits almost two years; and I was now told had left me two twenty-two shilling pieces to have preached his funeral. And now Mr. Heyricke had the profit of the sermon; and I was to have nothing for all my pains, which he promised always to consider. I began to be troubled that I should lose all for missing this last work. I found upon enquiry, that no gold would be acknowledged to be left, but merely twenty shillings for the sermon; which the Warden had. And so that business rested. Only this was to be noted, that this man lived most penuriously; was a man of a great estate, but had not an heart to partake of it. When he was dead one said, that he was fifty pounds in debt to his back, and one hundred pounds to his belly. And he left the substance of his estate to a young man, one William Stretwell, who lived but till December 25th next, and made merry with it, for he spent most of it in that short time; and his funeral I preached on Luke xii. 20, This night thy soul shall be required of thee; a lively instance of Eccl. iv. 7, 8.

May 9th, (Monday.) Upon the dissolution of the parliament, and pulling down of Richard, we heard of the setting up the Rump Parliament again. I was much affected at it, to see how God had reckoned with Cromwell's family for his atheistical carriages; and that God should now set up these men. I thought how likely it may be that they should prove a scourge to the nation. That the men that have been generally slighted in so many several late elections, and much affronted, should be called to sit again. A most sad thing that we must be ruled by such as hate us. But anything is good enough for such a sinful, thankless, and godless people as we are, and have been.

The very next day, May 14th, being Saturday, I was abroad, and, as I find it recorded, was in a lazy frame; and behold, when I came home, my son Daniel had fallen off the mill-dam, as he had been a fishing. If he had fallen on the fall side, he had in all likelihood been drowned; and falling on the other side, he hardly escaped, no body being with him but his brother, — and they both

little ones. I consider the sad things that befal parents about children. May not one beg of God, that if it be his will, he will save us from such afflictions, and if he sees it good, 1. That my children may be kept in health, or from sad and grievous distempers. 2. However not to die immaturely, if God see it good, especially not untimely deaths. 3. That they may not die while they live; nor be a cross and exercise to us, by rebellious untowardliness; as Joseph Barrett is, and my cousin Rathband's daughter.

May 23rd, (Monday,) being Salford fair, Ann Bursely was with me. And she told me that when I was last at Maxefeild, (the thing I remembered well,) she told me of something she had heard at church, which much encouraged her; as if excusing a business sometimes with prejudice to truth might be excuseable. And her case was this: — A prisoner that had offered to overrun them, her husband had given her in charge that she should give him nothing. She could not find in her heart to see him starve, and so could not but relieve him. Now if her husband asked her or taxed her with relieving him, she usually excused it by denial. I told her she must not do it; and withal bid her stick to the truth, and God would find out a way for her.

June 7th, (Tuesday.) About this time we had some small contests with some upon occasion of burying the dead. Mr. Booker took a carrier of Salford into the church, and spoke at the grave, and I had the hap to discourse with him about it; but though I had the better of it, yet I wronged my cause by being too hot with him. Major Byrom had his brother to be buried; and because I was with Mr. Heyricke when they came to ask leave for the pulpit, and he only cautioned them from speaking at the grave, they, in a pet, buried the body at Salford, and cast the odium of it upon me, and said Mr. Heyricke would have given way, but I would not. Whereas, 1. It was a thing I was not much against, for at Gausworth I always used to speak at the grave. 2. It was a thing altogether disused at Manchester; and we looked on it as needless. And besides, if admitted to some, many would have desired

it; and it was a thing we could not do to attend every one that was buried there, being so great a place, and we so few ministers. 3. They never asked us whether we would deny liberty to preach for that reason, though we cautioned against his so doing. 4. Mr. Heyricke acted his own judgment in the thing. I was only his accidental remembrancer, and not his counseller in the thing. He had himself refused to suffer Mr. Lightfoot to speak a word at the grave of Mrs. Rosterne, though earnestly moved unto it. Yet I must bear the blame. But I had this to bless God for: 1. That Mr. Heyricke and I do not differ in our judgments in any of these things, which I know is the grief of some in this place. 2. That we have a better and bigger party that stick firmly to us. That others barking at us, are not felt by us. Such spirits, if of chief men in the place, would distract us sadly. 3. Blessed be God that we are not as at Newcastle, which, as before said, was now in a very sad and broken condition; whence I received a sad letter this night. This present notable benefit I had of this trouble,—that it made me more earnest in duty. For June 29th, (Wednesday,) Mr. Sond, Mr. Hall, Mr. Martindale, and Mr. Hunter came to me, and it much grieved me to hear how they sought to disgrace and search out the weakness one of another. And Mr. Sond was so vexed with his old business towards that town, that he professed it took him quite off his study, and all his desirable things, and makes his life unprofitable and uncomfortable. My troubles were flea-bitings to these. A friend at this time, it was my cousin Unwyn, (and he had it from his brother, Mr. F. M., who was now beginning to fly high, and took up his information from that party, &c.,) wrote to me how much he was troubled that I had lost so many friends by being a Presbyterian. I answered, 1. That I had lost none that I knew off that ever I had had. 2. Nor any that any other godly minister had in the country; and I did not desire to be in a better condition than my brethren. 3. I had the religious people generally on my side; and I had rather lose all the rest than one of them. 4. Some have lost the godly party for their Episcopacy; and if I lose the bad party for Presbyter, I hope in

accounts to be less damnified. 5. Why I more Presbyterian than any other? not Jack on both hands, ordained by Bishops and Presbyters too. I am not at all changed from my first principles, and have no cause to do for such a generation as they are. 6. If I go but with the other ministers, why bear I the blame? If I sway the rest, that should imply some abilities which they deem me void of. 7. The congregation is fuller than ever it was. And all this reproach I feel not. But this was the Lord's great kindness to me at this time.

June 13th, (Monday.) I received a letter from Mr. Hough, which gave an account of a poor maid's sad condition at Cambridge, that had by promise given her soul to the devil, and such a day was to meet him; desired prayers. The next day was classical day, and I got a few together in the morning by six, and we kept to prayer till after nine on her behalf. We after kept a private day on purpose for her, and still remembered her upon occasion. July 2nd, (Saturday,) I understood that July 25th, (Monday,) was the day. We kept July 25th on her account chiefly at Mr. Wollen's. In the evening Mrs. Haworth sent me Mr. Kenion's letter, who wished her to tell me that he feared they should want prayers this night; the sad time is between nine and ten; he knows what I mean. I asked the man what o'clock it was. He told me it had just struck nine; whereupon I called my cousin Davenport, and with our wives we spent that part of an hour in prayer. We had much help in prayer this little while, and had hopes of a gracious return. Mr. Kenyon writ word they were resolved to sit up with her, and to keep in prayer all this night, which they did. She would have gone very fain from them, but they would not suffer her, and they were not disturbed by anything but her. She after was free from this fear; but yet it proved in the end a kind of a drawn battle. Satan did not prevail in this gross contrivance upon her, but she proved melancholy, idle, would follow no business; and whether she inclined to the Quakers or no I know not, but the servants of God that strove for her had not that joy in her which they desired, though she seemed delivered in this thing according

to their prayers. It was a University then, when so many Masters of Arts, Fellows of Colleges, could be found to keep a night to such a purpose.

June 30th, (Thursday.) My son Henry was playing on the Millers Bridge, and that which his foot stood on, as he hung upon the rails, broke, and so he was on the sudden cast upon the hold he had with his hands on the rails with the weight of his whole body. He shrieked out, and some were near and came and took him off. The danger was great, for the fall had been terrible if either he had not had hold or could not have kept it.

July 5th, (Tuesday,) I preached at Cockey. The chapel would not hold the people, and so I preached in the chapel yard. I was much affected to see the multitude.

July 7th. I went into Ardwick upon personal instruction. Many met me there at one house, and I had much encouragement, and was there once or twice after; but the troubles came on, and took up our work when we were in the midst of it.

July 13th, (Wednesday.) We had a meeting with the ministers of the congregational way at the College, and we agreed upon several heads of accommodation. I remember Mr. Tilsley said that the episcopal principles he could rather accommodate with than theirs, and with their persons and practices for life rather than the other. But this accommodation was moved and set on foot by them, and what we now agreed on was referred to a further meeting. Soon after, when Sir G. Booth's business fell out, and we all came into danger, Samaritan-like, they then were unwilling to be the Jews' kindred, and were some of them not ashamed to say that we designed to trepan them into that business, when the matter took rise from them, and only there was a strange coincidence of the other business thereupon. I was baited at by many upon this agreement, and my answer was this: 1. I am the meanest concurrent instrument in the thing; they cannot look on me as a leader; and why should I be left out if my brethren be in the thing? 2. If people wrong me in their censures, they will fall, and not lie long on me. 3. We are not gone so far but that

we shall resolve to prevent all just offence to our own congregations.

July 24th, being Sabbath day, rising by five, I had a strong contest with my heart about atheism.

I had indeed by Mr. Harrison understood, upon Sir George Booth's coming down, that there was a design to take arms. I could not but in conscience approve the thing, the usurpation and insolencies of the army being so gross and intolerable as they were; but my unskilfulness in these affairs made me silent altogether in the thing. But on the Lord's day July 31st, Mr. Stockport being resolved to give some notice of the business, I discoursed with him about it; and Mr. Heyricke absenting himself from the church this day, (though he knew of the business as well and as soon as I,) I was unwilling to have had it begun as it was. He told me he was resolved to invite the people to arms upon the score of the Quakers being up. I did know that they were very insolent and troublesome, yet was unsatisfied that the thing was true that they were up in arms, and his grounds were not sufficient to persuade a belief in me of the certainty of it, and so I told him. I was as cordial for the business as any man; but I resolved I would in the best cause, if I knew it, deal with nothing but truth, and further than that would go with me, I would trust God with it, who needeth not my lie. But after I had done the afternoon sermon, he called out for arms to purpose, and told all and more about the Quakers, and in very unwary expressions, which after were retorted on us with no small reflection. Great was the confusion among the people upon it, and I was greatly affected therewith, and thought we might now have had our last peaceable Sabbath for some time. That night all was afloat. Sir G. Booth came to the town in the night, and went in the morning to Warrington, where the rendezvous was appointed on August 1st. This day the gentlemen met; and the next the town engaged and mustered five hundred men in arms. I was taken up both days in preaching funerals, and so was not with them when they engaged, and had no hand in persuading any to the undertaking; though after I did

freely engage with them, and resolved to fare as they did, and so did not desert them whilst their action lasted.

August 5th, (Friday.) We were at a day of prayer; and were forced to break up sadly, by an alarm that Lilburne was coming towards us with his regiment out of Yorkshire. It was wonderful mercy that put him by, for he might have come on us and spoiled us without resistance, for we had nothing in readiness for him; but the Lord turned him aside, and he came not near us. A meeting was appointed by Mr. H., his consent and desire, of the Ministers of the Classe, that we might consult and advise what course to take, and to act unanimously. They came when the alarm was in town, and Mr. —— would not so much as let us stay with him, or talk one word of the business. They came to my house, and we debated the matter and advised the best we could, but were in much trouble and distraction. Mr. Angier stayed with me all night; and in the evening we went up to see our friends, as Major Ashurst, Mr. Minshull, Mr. Lancashire, &c., that were engaged. Found Major Ashurst just committing Edward Gathorne to the dungeon, who was, upon his promise of not stirring, at liberty; and was this day taken in his way to Lilburne to have fetched him in upon us. A most perfidious and unneighbourly part, but suitable to the spirit of a bloody Anabaptist; but yet we mollified the Major, and got him committed prisoner to some house, &c. I was much affected with the troubles of this day. On the Saturday night, August 6th, we had an alarm which was terrible; but it was given to try the people. On the Sabbath, I preached on 2 Chron. xii. 6, 7. As we were at sacrament, the Earl of Derby came in with a troop of horse; and they shot off their pistols, which did somewhat disturb us, and sufficiently affect us, with the voice of the trumpet and the noise of war. At night, after sermon, we were with Sir G. Booth, who, with much sorrow told us how basely he was deserted. Five hundred lords and gentlemen, of the best in England, were engaged, and were all either prevented or had failed their trust; and none was up but Sir Thomas Middleton, &c. We advised to endeavour a mediation

between Lambert and them, and Mr. Eaton was willing to have gone about it, and something to that end was drawn up; but the council at Chester was not for it, and so it fell. August 8th, I heard by Mr. Bagshaw how I was reproached and reviled by Mr. Jones, the Anabaptist minister, as an agent in this business. August 9. On the classical day, Mr. Angier said a deal to me to cheer me up; and told me it was distemper in me, if I could not study for all this trouble. The truth was, I was in the continual noise of the trouble, more than they in the country; and also was of a weaker and poorer spirit. Mr. Seddon was now come over from Derby, and imparted to me the posture they were in there; that if they were well informed of the ground we stood on, they were ready to rise for us. August 10. I imparted to Col. Holland the business; and he was very urgent with me to have gone over to have discoursed with them. I was clear in my thoughts to have done it; had a horse provided, and was ready to go. But it pleased God to leave my wife so exceedingly unsatisfied in the thing, that though she professed her judgment to be clear I should go, yet she could not get herself quiet in it, and was so hugely disturbed with it that I was forced to waive it; and Capt. Seddon, that should have gone with me, was ordered to go himself, and so did. The next morning that he came thither, they rose there. And it was a wonderful providence that I went not, for I could not have gone with so little notice as he did; and the rising would have been laid upon me, which would have exposed me to the rage of the conquerors afterwards, for Mr. Seddon was after sent up prisoner, as Mr. Harrison was. August 11th, (Thursday.) Things were all to pieces in the town, and all were so discouraged and disheartened that, but that I moved strongly with them, they had thrown up their very guard, and had left the town without so much as a sentry. But we shewed the gross inconvenience of that, in that for what had been done already, they laid themselves hereby open to any flying party to have the town plundered, or the chief men to be fetched away prisoners by a few horse, &c., and so we obtained they would still keep a guard up. I was now

much affected and troubled, and found comfort in the Psalms, and understood what Luther is said to have said, That he had never known the use of the Psalms but for afflictions. On Sabbath day, August 14th, when all was given up for lost, some body could come out, and preach on Heb. x. 23. I was so dejected that I got Mr. Holbrooke to preach for me in the afternoon, as being so much unfitted for my work, and not knowing how to carry in it. But at night I was sorry that I had not preached; for I thought I should have been in a better frame if I had than I was then in. The people, I was told, took it ill that I preached not this day. But the truth is, (I said then,) I am so distracted that I matter not such things.

August 17th, (Wednesday,) was the day before appointed for the classical exercise at Manchester; and it was, by agreement, turned to a fast. I began the day with prayer. Mr. Angier preached on Judges x., I will deliver you no more. Mr. Walton prayed after. Mr. Dunster preached in the afternoon on 2 Kings ix., What peace? so long as the whoredoms, &c. I baptized a child after. We supped with Mr. Angier at Mrs. Ashurst's, and I had much comfort from discourse with him. One thing I remember he said, What if we go to prison, and lose our goods? what hurt will it be?

August 19th, (Friday,) was the battle and rout at Northwich. I heard it about noon. I was not so discomposed as some others were, for it was the thing I looked for; but I was much gladded that I heard there was not much blood shed. Yet I was troubled to meet the people crying in the streets. I thought of that 1 Sam. xxx., The soul of the people was grieved, &c. It was a sad day, August 20th, when the soldiers came into the town. And yet the Lord ordered Colonel Tho. Birch to send me a protection that afternoon, and we had no soldiers at all quartered with us. We were sending our children away to Colonel Birch's, but the soldiers came in just as they were going, and so they tarried with us, which was much better. On the Sabbath, August 25th, Mr. Heyricke preached in the forenoon on Job xxvii. 6, and I was ready to have

preached in my own course, and Lilburne had ordered old Mr. Rootes to preach, and he did, on Psalm xxvii. 8. I did not know whether I should ever have had my liberty to preach again, because taken off now; and God ordered it that I had not one day's intermission after, but preached longer together without any help than I had done of a long time before. But great now was the troubles of the town — imprisoning and taking horses, and threatening with sequestration. One Mr. Faldo preached on Tuesday to the soldiers, on Prov. xvi. 32. Tired I was these days with doing nothing.

Thursday, August 26th. Mr. Eaton met me at Mr. Minshull's, and though he was a good man, and always after to his death a dear friend of mine, yet he was now very fraid and loath to own us much. He told me that he feared he should come into danger by a letter of mine, and spake very passionately. The matter was thus. Mr. Angier had told me that upon Mr. Eaton's willingness to go to mediate with Lambert for the gentry, he said he could wish they had strength enough to force good terms, and expressed much favour towards them as being dissatisfied abundantly in the late proceedings of the army. Mr. Tilsley had written to me that Mr. Bridgman had put him on to endeavour to put on Mr. Briscoe to work for an accommodation, and desired me to let him know how matters stood, (for he had been kept from us altogether by attending the funerals of old Sir Thomas Barton, which happened to be just now,) and that if there was need of it, we should move with Mr. Eaton, &c. I wrote to him a large and full account of the business, and as to that of Mr. Eaton, told how far he was engaged before, and how moderately he had expressed himself, &c. Mr. Tilsley, in treating with Mr. Briscoe, to draw him on, showed him my letter. Mr. Br. and Jolly, &c., were of another temper clearly, and were for the army; and so when Mr. Eaton had now met with Mr. Briscoe, he told him of his compliance, &c., which startled him exceedingly. I was so troubled at this that I could not eat or sleep for it, because I was sorry to bring Mr. Eaton into trouble; but I forthwith sent to Mr. Tilsley to entreat him to burn that

letter, and to be chary of naming Mr. Eaton; and after I acquainted Mr. Eaton with what I had done, and he was well satisfied, and only I had the exercise and trouble of this three or four days, but no hurt at all came of it. August 27th. Sorrow and trouble increased upon me.

September 2nd, (Friday.) I was in my dejection, and troubled more than I should be; and Mrs. Angier called to see me, and, I remember, spake a word to me that did me some good, viz.: that God is not feared as he should be, when man is feared so much.

Colonel Manwareing was now permitted to lodge at my house, the General taking up his chamber at the inn. On September 2nd, a furious Anabaptist, Captain Turner, would himself, without the constable, quarter soldiers upon me and Mr. Heyricke. Mr. Heyricke was entertained as a friend, and was discharged, but for me, he had informations against me, &c.; but after I told him how the Colonel was lodged with me by the General's order, and he was willing to have taken them off, but the Captain was gone, and so two of them were with me from Friday till Monday — two base pragmatical sectaries they were. I was shamefully dejected now.

Mr. Harrison was fetched in on the Saturday to Lambert. His brother Wiggan providentially just light as he came in. He was in the town very cheerful on the Lord's day, and with us at the sacrament, and the next day was released to go home for a time to his own family, upon his brother's intercession for him.

September 13th, (Tuesday.) Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cooke were hurried away towards London, by order from above. September 18th, (Lord's day,) I began my discourse on 3 John ii., about the prosperity of the soul.

September 21st, (Wednesday,) my cousin Ashton, parson of Middleton, died. A sudden business. I thought on this — there were other ways into the other world besides killing. The rage of the Anabaptist soldiers was now very high. That Captain Turner, that quartered at Mr. Hartley's, one Lord's day when they came from church, said, in a great deal of passion, "Oh, when will the Lord put an end to these delusions of the priests?" And in dis-

course being asked what they would do with the prisoners, and by what law they must be tried, he said, By martial law; for (says he) if they judge them by common law, they may fetch us in too. But (says he) we never gave them quarter; I would have them knocked on the head, &c. So bloodily did this varlet talk, and railed at the parliament as if they intended not severity enough, &c.

September 27th, (Tuesday.) I thought, what if I should be sent for up to London, taken from my dear relations and friends with soldiers, and be called before councils, and should be in great trouble, which is no impossible nor unlikely thing?

About this time Mr. Angier had been with me, and he perceived me somewhat more cheerful than I had been, and he asked me what had helped my spirit, and whether I had any better hopes of things. I told him (I remember) that I had no more encouragement from without than I had, but God had helped me a little more in the business of my soul. But this very morning (September 27th, Tuesday) when I had this dealing with my heart to be content with anything I could fear, Mr. Heyricke came in and told me of the divisions that were fallen among them above, and how the parliament and army were upon high terms one with another; after which time they never agreed, and things wrought to our deliverance fast. And none of all these things which I feared came upon me.

September 29th. Mr. Brereton of Wimslow called of me, and in discourse he said that he believed that those should have no means allowed them by way of augmentation that had any hand in the late rise, which put me into fear about my maintenance. We were forced to get new certificates, upon the general stop above to that affair. Colonel Birch very courteously gave me his hand; but upon the breaking up of the parliament, they had made an order that all augmentations should be paid as they had been, and so I lost not one penny by this business — no not for the very present. Only here I may note something of the weakness and ingratitude of some men. When Wm. Barsley was about to pay me, Edward Gathorne said to him, if he paid me he would pay any body. And

this man I had rescued from the dungeon by intercession with Major Ashurst, as before. And Nehemiah Poole, a Quaker, when I was one day with Colonel Holland, and he was brought in all wet coming home from Bristol, and he commanded him to prison, he asked whether he might not go to his own house to shift his stockings. The Colonel seemed to give no ear to him; and I seeing the water squeeze out of the top of his shoes, could not but pity him, and so requested the Colonel for him that he might go home and shift him. He soon condescended, and the unworthy man was not afterwards stirred from his own house; and yet his sister gave in false information against me to Colonel Ashfield, that I was in the parsonage with a sword by my side (which I had not had of seven years before). And this Nehemiah himself said to one, that he was sure I was in the business; for when they took him prisoner, they said they would carry him before the gentlemen, and when he came to the place, there was none but Holland and I, so that I was in the council with him. This I had for my kindness to them. But it was a comfort to me that I had done none any wrong, and that none complained of me but those I had done kindness to.

I remember about this time I told Mr. Baxter that I thought these troubles would not yet blow over, they did us so much good, and kept us in so much awe, and did awaken and watch us up so to our duty.

October ——. I had much trouble about a thanksgiving which was out for the victory over us. After I understood it was but an invitation, and not a command. But it pleased God the time passed, and the orders never came to us, which I looked upon as a great indulgence from the Lord unto us. It was November 3rd.

October 19th, (Wednesday.) I preached the classical exercise at Denton on 2 Cor. iv. 18. At night I found the sequestrators come into Manchester, which was some trouble to my poor people, and to me for them. But it pleased God the blow was broken before they came, for the parliament was broken up some days before, and so they were not so much feared as they would have been if they had come one week sooner. They sequestered some

Friday and Saturday; I thought it might be to let them see what might be. But God showed favour in restraining informations. And I thought when I saw houses shared, (as they called it,) emptied of all ornaments, that that meanness we were reduced to we might make a shift to live in. People hide their plate and bravery and all their ornaments. Manchester is as fine without it as if it had it all, and, if the soul be better, much finer.

Sabbath, October 23. I was so sorrowful upon the account of this friend and that friend sequestered, that I was huge glad of the Sabbath day, which is a day without fear; nobody will be sequestered that day.

Nov. 8th, (Tuesday.) Mr. Angier preached at the Classis, on Hab. i. 12. The most seasonable and sweet sermon that ever I heard; and truly it was a very precious day unto us. We had now many private days, and I found that I was oft unfit for them; yet they did us much good, for they either sent us away refreshed by enlargedness, or humbled for our straitness.

November 24th, (Thursday.) About this time we had sad apprehensions of things; and very serious enquiries were set on foot by Mr. Langley, to which I got the several resolutions of Mr. Gee, Ambrose, Angier. They are transcribed in my historical collections for this time.

Oft now when I received kindnesses, though the Lord had helped me to pay my debts, yet I was moving the Lord, if it pleased him, that something might tarry with me.

January 9th, (Monday.) We removed to Mr. William Byrom's house. We took it somewhat rashly, for it was not a fit house for me, being too close. But we were tired out with the other, because we could not get it repaired. When we came hither, I had many discouraging thoughts about it. It fell a smoking just when we were there.

January 30th, (Monday.) Mr. Harrison being set at liberty, was in my house in Manchester to see me; which was a great rejoicing unto us. Things went but darkly yet. Monk had now declared so far for the Rump, that one in his letter to us said, We

will not change our Lord General for General Monk. I was to dine with Mr. Harrison at Mr. Heyricke's, January 31st, but I am not capable of my freedom. I was delighted in the company of my enlarged brother, and promised myself fine satisfaction in the account of many things from him. But at dinner I was sent for to my wife, who was suddenly fallen ill, by an unwonted fit in her head, which amazed and startled me, and lasted that afternoon; and was some of the physic which God saw I needed.

February 11th, (Saturday,) when I heard that Monk had fired the city gates; and Mr. Case gave an account of it with this Scripture beginning his letter, Isaiah xxxvii. 3. On February 10th, we had a most warm and earnest day of prayer at Mr. Buxton's. And on February 15th, (Wednesday,) we heard of Monk's better compliance with the city, and his letter to the parliament. February 17th. Some odd people would needs have bonfires made. I told the officers that if it were true that we heard, it would be true the next post, and we might do it then; and if it should not be true, the town might sadly smart for the forwardness of the rabble. February 24th, (Friday.) The news was confirmed, that the secluded members were admitted; and Mr. Case began his letter now with Psalm cxxvi. 1. And now this night they made bonfires. The troopers came into the town, and would know the reason of it, and came to me. I was with my family at duty at that time; but I gave the soldier a quiet answer, and so was not further molested by him. But here this great trouble took end in a great measure, which was marvellous in our eyes, and remains as a deliverance never to be forgotten by us. And though soon after the settlement of the nation, we saw ourselves the despised and cheated party, and were still under dissettlement till silenced after a time, and then banished from our places, as now I am; yet in all this I have suffered since, I look upon it as less than my trouble was from my fears then. They did me no hurt; took nothing from me. These have taken all; and yet I feel it not, comparatively, to what I felt from my fears then; and I would not change conditions to have all changed

answerably of this, to have it as it was then, as bad as it is. 1. Their malice and rage was so desperate and giddy and lawless. Affliction by law is known, and one may know how to frame to it, and more than is law cannot be inflicted. Then we lay at the mercy and impulse of a giddy, hot-headed, bloody multitude. 2. A Munsterian anarchy we escaped far sadder than particular persecution. 3. And methinks the trouble that befals me, though it be more sharp, yet is more kindly and is better taken, since coming from a lawful sovereign, than less that was inflicted by many usurpers. I did bless God every Sabbath day whilst I might preach for the deliverance, though I was but coarsely used upon his majesty's restoration. And though I have met with worse since, yet I must needs bless God still for that mercy; and however it may be abused, yet I desire to bless God for it, (as it was then wrought for us,) whilst I live. We kept a day of thanksgiving at Strangeways, for this mercy, March 1st, (Thursday,) at which was Mr. Lightbowne, and several of the chief of the town. Some that now would be loath to own a conventicle, but then prayers and praises in such a way was acceptable.

February 28th, (Tuesday.) Upon my preaching at a funeral, on Eccl. xii. 5, which I had not studied so well as I should and might have done, though the Lord assisted me, and I came tolerably through it.

I had taken a cold by removing, and my journey to Warrington in so sharp a season in January, and so was forced to keep in a Sabbath. January 29th, I had been out again; but March 9th, going with Mr. Kenion to give him possession at Prestwich, it being a thin sharp wind, I had a sharp fit of an ague, and was gotten much out of health; took my chamber now, and was forced to keep in two Sabbaths, and went not out till March 22: on which day we kept a day of thanksgiving at Manchester, for our deliverance. I durst not venture out to hear Mr. Heyricke in the forenoon; but preached in the afternoon, on Psalm lii. 9.

April 16th, (Monday.) James Coppock's house was on fire in the night, and we were alarmed with it, it being near, and I weakly

and unfit to get up. But it pleased God it was soon quenched without any considerable harm at all. But our own house was in very considerable danger of being fired by the chimney, May 25th, (Friday.)

May 6th, (Sabbath.) I prayed for the king this afternoon by periphrasis. On Saturday after, May 12th, they resolved to proclaim the king in Manchester, and we went first into the church, and sung a Psalm, and after I went up into the pulpit, and prayed about half an hour, wherein the Lord did affect all the people, the change was so great; and this one thing I was put on to ask, that the joy of that day might not be blemished by the open intemperance of one person, if it were God's will; and I could not hear but the people carried very carefully, and mentioned the word often to one another when they were together that day. A solemn proclaiming we had, and the Lord showed us mercy in that on Monday after they had all their solemnity dashed at Rochdale, by the accidental miscarriage of a musket, that at their volley killed the drummer. The Lord spared us in this thing, or anything else that might have wofully dashed our joy this day.

May 24th, (Thursday.) We had a public day of thanksgiving appointed by authority, on which day I preached on 2 Sam. xix. 14, the sermon which I afterwards was persuaded to publish.

On May 27th, about six of the clock, died Mr. Gee, that eminent faithful servant of God, and minister of Christ at Eccleston. He died, it should seem, about the very time on the Sabbath day that his sister, Susan Cranage, came to me, to tell me how it was with him, and to deliver his death-bed remembrances to me, and this message from him: "Bid him beware of spending himself; the Church of God might lose him too soon." I was affected with it, because of the reverence I bare unto him, as also because of the experience he spake from, in that he had much over-toiled himself. The Lord direct me to make use of it.

My journey was fixed on Whitsun Monday, being June 11th. I had bought a horse of Mrs. Ashton of Middleton several weeks before. But he proved not fit to adventure on, and so I had none

till the Thursday before, and it pleased God then to provide me with one that performed the journey exceeding well.

On the day beforesaid I set out from Manchester with my wife and my two elder children, my cousin Henry Manwareing, and Mr. Baxter, who now went up to take his degree. We went to Clough House the first night, where I had been but a while and my brother Steele came in, whom I had not seen this great while. The Lord poised my spirit by the weightiness of the business he was pleased to lay for me in the way at Newcastle, viz. a meeting of reference to me, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Smith of Dracot, to deal between Mr. Hull and the town, to heal their differences, which were wofully wide. June 12th we came thither, and we fell to our business, and sat to it till night, and after the next day from seven to seven again at night. We thought we had put it into a fair way, that another meeting should have determined it, but afterwards it proved incurable. I had the sweet society of my old friend Mr. Langley, who met me here from Tamworth. June 14th, we dined at Uttoxeter, and came to lodge at Swarston Bridge. My wife was ill this night, but the Lord refreshed her, and we found very good lodging and accommodation at the inn on the bridge, insomuch that on Friday morning she was pretty hearty; and we baited at Melton and came to Oakham in Rutland that night. We found May-poles in abundance as we came, and at Oakham I saw a morris-dance, which I had not seen of twenty years before. It is a sad sign the hearts of the people are poorly employed when they can make a business of playing the fool as they do. This I found, that in most places they either have had bad ministers to rejoice in, or else good ones whom they hate. June 16th, being Saturday, I had a very sore pain in my leg over night, but it pleased God to let me sleep notwithstanding, and to remove it by the morning. This day proved very cool and dainty riding, and we had, besides the mercy in the temper of the seasons, these further things to acknowledge mercy in, 1. That for the way between Coly-Weston and Wainsford, which is so difficult, we should meet with one, and but one in that way, that gave us exact and particular directions, whereby we found the way.

2. Thesderne woods we went by, put us in mind what a preservation we had there, and all the way, from rogues that otherwise might have offered violence to us. We came safe and well, by the good hand of our God upon us, to Allerton, to my eldest brother, by eleven o'clock or presently after. And that very night I heard that my brother Thomas and his wife were come from London to Caldcot; and on the Lord's day in the morning the Lord brought my brother Stephen and his wife, and brother Thomas and his wife in unto us. Mr. Baxter preached in the forenoon on Phil. ii. 12, 13, and I in the afternoon on 3 John 2, and we had sweetness in the duty. But, to keep me in order, my wife was ill this night and the next morning, yet something better the next day. Tuesday, June 19th, we came to Caldcot, where I saw once again the place of my nativity, where I might remember much sin and much mercy. June 20th, I parted with Mr. Baxter beyond Sawtree in his way to Cambridge; found my uncle Williamson gone to London. June 22nd, (Friday,) as we came from Stilton we had a deal of profitable discourse, which made the time sweet and delightful to me. When one does good or gets good, the time passeth well, and it is pleasant to reflect back upon it. I preached twice on the Lord's day at Caldcot June 24th, on 1 Pet. iv. 3. June 27th, (Wednesday,) we went to see Peterborough, and there understood how things flew above, as to bishops, &c. The next day, June 28th, was a thanksgiving day for the king's coming in. My brother preached to the occasion in the forenoon. In the afternoon the ministers and people from all the neighbourhood came in, and we had a great congregation, and I prayed and gave thanks according to the occasion, and according to the tenor of my thoughts digested as before, but preached a sermon for the soul, on 3 John 2, and it was a very blessed and sweet opportunity. We dined the next day at my uncle Williamson's of Sawtree, and went that afternoon to Wymington. June 30th, (Saturday,) we got up and spent the day in walking about. We fell to ringing the bells, and I ignorantly rung a light bell too high, and turned it, and knew not the way in such a case, and so might have been much hurt,

but the Lord brought me off without any. July 1st, my eldest brother preached in the forenoon on Psalm cxix. 60. In the afternoon I preached on Luke xii. 20. I was somewhat long, but not so enlarged as I have been sometimes. Mr. Hewson, our old friend and acquaintance, was with us till late, and I was much refreshed with the sight of him. July 2nd, we left my brother Thomas, and we began to part already, my brother Richard and I going to Cambridge this day. We came thither about three. It proved commencement time, and we heard the Umbra on the Monday. I met with Dr. Haworth, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Richardson from Manchester, and heard of Mr. Heyrick's going to London. the case was, his wardenship was claimed by Dr. Wolley, to whom King Charles I. in the beginning of the war had granted it, for Mr. H.'s delinquency; and so he was forced to go up to look after it, and there was a necessity for me to hasten home. Yet I now, upon letters from my wife and the earnest importunity of my brothers, took order with Mr. Jones and Mr. Richardson, that in case I should stay one Sabbath more, they would look after Manchester for that day. July 3rd, we got to the Commencement House betimes, and there sat till after three. Mr. Hill kept the Bachelor in Divinity's Act, Dr. Love moderated as Margaret Professor, was old and weak, yet very lively and merry when he was gotten into action. We had excellent recreation by the Prevaricator, Mr. Darby of Jesus, who was so witty and so innocent that every body was pleased with him. I supped that night in Jesus Hall. July 4th, Mr. Hardy preached Trinity Lecture. I visited Dr. Tuckney in the afternoon, Dr. Worthington at night. July 5th, (Thursday,) I dined with Dr. Tuckney, and excellent company and converse I had with him and Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Hough, and the Doctor's wife, that excellent woman, the relict of Dr. Hill. One passage I remember of her, that she said, considering her husband's studies and business, she thought it was one chief part of her work to make him merry; and she had a very fine way of doing it. It rained so that I could not set out to-day, and so visited Dr. Seaman in the afternoon at Peter House, and after was

with Mr. Sherman, who was hugely down by distemper, and much dejected in spirit, and I was hugely troubled for him, and prayed for him as I was able, which made it mighty taking to me when on the Friday, July 13th, after, I met him so unlooked for and so cheerful at Mr. Elm's of Barnewell with Mr. Resbury. But God can revive and cast down in a short time. July 6th, (Friday,) we set out of Cambridge early, and had a deal of good company, Mr. King of Oakeham, Mr. Lyon of Barnewell, Mr. Beck of Upton, Mr. Dickenson, &c. We called at Sawtree, and hastened to Caldcot, whither my wife and children were brought back from Wymington, and I found them all pretty well, to my great comfort. We went, July 7th, to Allerton again; I preached twice there the next day on 3 John 2. Wednesday, July 11th, I preached the lecture at Peterborough on John xvii. 11, and many ministers I had the company of and respect from at that time. July 12th. We dined at Castor with Mr. Spinx. July 13th. We had a venison dinner at Mr. Elm's at Barnewell, where we had the society of many worthy ministers in those parts, as Mr. Cooper, Mr. Resbury, &c., where I saw the picture of famous and holy Mr. Dod, as a monument of the resort to that house, where the good gentlewoman counted of the pious ministers as her chief guests, as it appeared by this day's entertainment. She came to Caldcot and Allerton to hear me whilst I stayed in these parts, and much good converse I had with her. July 14th. I was preparing for my journey back again, and earnestly now longed after home; and truly such is our life, a passing backward and forward in our whole course. On July 15th, I preached in the forenoon at Castor, on 2 Cor. vii. 6, in the afternoon on 3 John 8, the Lord very graciously assisting, to a great audience, at which time I concluded that text, and took leave of those parts that day. July 16th, (Monday,) we set out from Allwalton. It rained much all the morning, but after proved a fine day, which was a great mercy to us. Our dear relations brought us to Stamford. We saw my cousin Daniel Wigmore, whom I intend to reserve more time for if ever the Lord bring me this way again, he being so glad to see me, and so loath

to part with me. We parted here with our relations, only my aunt Peacocke went with us to Witham, whither we came by seven, safe and well, and found my good aunt Wimberley well and glad to see us. We had much experience of God's goodness to us in the way, and the recounting of old things was very delightful unto me. July 17th, we came to Nottingham, where we met with my good friend Mr. Grant. I was with Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, and at my return to my inn, found Mr. Porter there, whom I was glad to see alive and so well as there I found him, whom I had prayed for and begged that he might live — and why may not I have some friend that prays for me? July 18th, Mr. Grant went to prayer with us, and brought us on the way. We came to Derby by ten, just to the lecture there, where Mr. Cranwell preached. Mr. Gisburne the mayor would needs have us with him to dinner, and much kindness they showed to us; and there we met with my cousin Shelmerdine in his journey from London to Manchester, by whom we sent to them to Manchester, being ourselves to go home through Staffordshire. We stayed the heat of the day at Derby; set out about four, and came to Uttoxeter after six, and lodged at the Talbot there. July 19th, (Thursday,) we got to Newcastle by ten. I had sent by the post to get the meeting renewed this day, to have ended that business. But my letter had miscarried, and so the meeting held not. We came that night to Astbury to my brother Machin, where we had opportunity to discourse of affairs. Men were now seeking to turn out ministers, &c. July 20th. As we set out, Dr. Davenport and Sam. Woolmer, who had missed of us, and had been at Newcastle that night, came to us; and by them we had the account of the welfare of our children. We dined at Knutsford; came to Sandy-way-head, where several of the town met us, and the children likewise. Mr. Heyrick was now in trouble; little hopes of his place; and great care I took for him, and in a few hours I got a petition drawn up for him, with 453 hands from the town for his continuance, at which time some moved to put in my own with his, but I refused; and shortly it came to pass that all the fellowships were snapped up, and I was in

a few weeks ousted my place. My poor brother at Allerton, his place belonging to the dean and chapter at Peterborough, it was questioned, and he was in great danger too, and had much disturbance, though settled at last.

August 18th, (Saturday.) I was in troubles many for my settlement in Manchester: had little life in it.

About August 24th, (Friday,) I had a fresh charge of new afflictions. The news came that all the fellowships were disposed of.

August 26th, (Sabbath.) As I was preaching in the forenoon, a poor woman came into the church in sackcloth and ashes, and stood with hair about her ears, before the pulpit all the sermon time. They said it was Judge Fell's wife. It is mercy (I said then) these wild beasts that now a little amaze us, have not before this time over-run us.

September 2. We had a sweet sacrament at Manchester, at which I spake on 1 Sam. xxiv. 8; and it was the last we had in that way.

September 14th, (Friday.) When the Warden was returned. and Mr. Johnson came, I perceived they intended to alter all at the church to begin the service the next day; and then I saw what was come. I was then (as I said) a minister without a people; for I have nothing to do in the congregation, &c. And yet I thought this day better than this day twelve months, for all this.

September 17. When the Fellows were installed, and I quite outed at Manchester, I dined with Mr. Johnson at Mr. Lightbowne's, and was as cheerful as I could, but was troubled at the sad aspect of the people. The next day, September 18th, Col. Holland came and called upon me, and sat with me an hour, hearing how it was with me; and gave me his advice and counsel, which I took very kindly from him.

September 21st, (Friday.) The town had desired me to preach, which I took very kindly from them, and I did prepare on Psalm cxliv. ult. I thought I had preached now my last sermon to them, and hugely they were affected; had like to have spoiled me when

I went first into the pulpit, by the passion they showed at the sight of it. But the Lord helped me besides my passion, and enabled me to preach on that subject. The steward in the evening, with some of the head burgesses came to me, and gave me forty shillings for my sermon. Mr. Hall of Newcastle, was with me this day, who is outed as well as I; yet I thought there was difference in my being outed and his, — in that they people desired his going, and my people generally desired my stay.

September 23. I was an hearer at the church, and out of employment; but I was gotten down in body very much, being tired out with troubles and daily company, to condole with me, and to increase my sorrow upon me. This morning I received my sermon printed; as one born out of due time. About that time twelve months, I received the other book; when things were as wide as they are now.

September 25th, (Tuesday.) I was sent for to Mr. Heyricke's, and we had some pretty hot discourse with the fellows; but we agreed that I should preach for a time as I had done in the afternoon, and they would allow so much. I could have let it pass so. But I had no peace till I told them flatly what I was about, and what I intended, — to get my place if I could. This startled them much. I told them they should not find me undermining. I dealt plainly with them; for they would have reviled me bitterly, if I had engaged to supply for them, and should have sought to have outed them in the meanwhile. And I was resolved to do things fairly, and so did. And yet for all this the Lord ordered it, that they consented to my preaching till Easter; and the Warden and I supplied the place as we had done. And here I may once for all set down the seeming cross, and yet merciful and gracious providence of God, about this affair of settling at Manchester as one of the fellows.

(1) 1. All desired it. 2. No one directly opposed it. 3. No one wittingly neglected it. 4. Sorry after it was over, that it had missed. And strangely it slips through all our fingers, and must not be: but it was the Lord's doing. But how many direct oppo-

sitions have we seen in this case? God just stepping in, and preventing it from first to last. 1. I was near London; earnestly invited by my brother to have gone home that way; which if I had done, in all likelihood, I had better understood the course of affairs, and might have raised up friends, that would have looked better to my concerns, than they were looked to. But out of conscience to my duty to look to the souls of the people, I hasted home, when I heard Mr. Heyrick was gone to London.

(2) When I got the petition signed for the Warden, some moved at the same time my business should have been joined with it; and Sir G. Booth oft told me, that at the same time, when he spoke to the king about Mr. Heyrick, he could have done my business effectually, if he had had the least hint of it. But I then answered that Mr. Heyricke trusted me with a business of his, and it should never be said or seen that I had at the same time pursued a business of my own.

(3) Mr. Heyricke the town trusted to for me; and he was so weak and dejected, that he was not competent to look after himself.

(4) When Mr. Weston and Mr. Mosley had gotten fellowships, the town wrote to Mr. Heyricke and Mr. Johnson to look after me. Mr. Johnson was gone into the country, and never saw the letter, (as I think he said,) or he might have stirred in it. Mr. Heyrick never returned answer to it; but still wrote, that if he were Warden, I need not question but I should be fellow.

(5) Mr. Lancashire then wrote down to have the town petition for me, and he would fall on. The letter came but on Thursday night, and August 17th, the petition was signed, and sent up by the Saturday post; and just that day Mr. Birch had got the remaining fellowship.

(6) They still thought good to proceed, to get a grant if they could, and to see whether it might not be gotten by admission, as soon as some other. Sir G. Booth moves the king in it; representing the business to him. He said I should not be removed from Manchester; and wished him to speak to the Chancellor,

and to stop all things concerning Manchester till I was provided for. But the steed was stolen, before the door was barred. Mr. Lancashire prosecutes the business, and hath great hopes. We expected an order every post; but there were these crosses in it. 1. The Warden comes down, and brings Mr. Birch with him; comes to Manchester September 13th. Mr. Johnson not knowing of his coming, came in from Gloucestershire that very day, after him; and so all the fellows were gotten in on the Saturday night. Mr. Heyrick was tired with the city, and so got out as soon as he could, yet professed if he had been advised of the concernment, he would have stayed till my order had been gotten; for there could have been no instalment without him. But thus Providence seemed to join clearly with them, and to order things for them. 2. We hoped for an order by the Monday night's post at the farthest. The Warden promised he would put off the admission of the fellows till after; but he durst not withstand their importunity, and so admitted them Monday morning; so that if the order had come, it had been some hours too late. 3. I wrote then to Mr. Lancashire that he should desist, and save any further charges, unless he could have such an order as should not be denied. He hath hopes of such an one, by the means of Secretary Nicholas. Just when the petition should have been presented to the king, the Duke of Gloucester dies, and so for certain days, the petition could not be delivered. 4. When the secretary had delivered it, he mistook in the summing up the case, and the king's fiat upon it, reached not our case. 5. He then fell in with Secretary Morris, and he undertook the business, and at long run procured an order, which cost twenty-three pounds in the whole; and when we had it, it signified nothing, and was not worth one penny.

(7) When Sir G. Booth understood the business, being in the country, and we informing him how it was, he undertook it, and questioned not but at his return to do something in it. Upon this, in the interim, he had writ to the Chancellor, how the town expressed as much grief at this, as they did when they were in

fear of sequestration; which made him seem much to mind it, and he writ to him very respectfully, which did much animate Sir G., that at his return some way would be devised by the Chancellor to bring me in. He had a petition signed by 1023 hands to this purpose. And when he went to London the fellows were all there about their college business, as to the lands, &c., and so might have been treated with conveniently; but suddenly he did not fall upon it. Afterwards he did speak to the Chancellor about it. He then resolved to move that the prebendary's place of York, that was granted to me, should be conferred on one of them, and he to relinquish a fellowship to me. Sir G. writes to me about it. His letter comes to me November 26th. I returned answer by the next post, November 27th; gave him an account of the business. The prebendary Mr. Lancashire had gotten in my name without my privity, and I never meddled with it; and could not for several reasons, (especially that I would not break the covenant, in terminis, for profit or preferment,) and besides I heard after that the old incumbent was alive; so that exchange I judged hopeless, but desired some other way might be thought of, &c. This letter went while the fellows were in town. It was sent, for safety, in one inclosed to Mr. Bleamore, and he delivered it safely to Mr. Andrews, Sir G.'s man. I daily expected an answer to my letter. And I received one from Mr. Andrews dated December 12th, (above a fortnight after,) that he had lost my letter, and desired me to pardon him, and to write again, &c. And this letter of his came not to me till December 23rd, almost a fortnight after it was written, so that a full month was thus lost; and the fellows were now gone out of town, and I was forced to write again just a month too late. January 5th, Sir G. Booth writes to me that yet he hoped to send me something by the next post. The Sabbath after was the rising of the Anabaptists; and that put it off, I presume, so that I heard no more till January 22nd, and then it was but in general neither. Besides, a letter I wrote to Sir G. Booth before his of November 26th, enclosed to my brother Ashmole, and it was not received of many weeks after, and so was to no

purpose at all. February 14th, I received a letter from Sir G. B., wherein he gives me this final result of all the business, — That it was now at what the fellows would allow, and Mr. Birch was huge confident it would be done, that I should have a considerable allowance from them, and engaged to my Lord to endeavour it.

March 8th, (Friday.) Mr. Heyrick being affectionately engaged in the business, Mr. Weston and Mr. Mosley being over, the town moved to see what they would allow; taking it for granted that they would consent to my continuance. But they answered they looked upon it as a scandal to receive the means, and not to supply the place. They moved to maintain me as afternoon lecturer. They said they could preach twice when they came, as well as once, and were resolved for their parts, once a month to come and preach their own days. The design was apparent to get me out; for to shew his hypocrisy herein, Mr. Weston never came his day, but took his allowance from me, and compounded with Mr. Stopford for his day; and since hath let his course fall on the afternoons, when by other means they were rid of me. And yet after all this, when Mr. Johnson came down and Mr. Birch, they had wrought Mr. Johnson to put me on to read, or else openly to declare my consent to the book, &c.; but I refused it, resolving they should not enthral me, when the law as yet gave me liberty, as the king's declaration did. (The king's declaration would have denied my liberty, if I had been fellow.) But after a while, he having no body to supply his place, he was willing I should preach for him, and Mr. Birch for him; and so I had their two days in the month, and so continued till the fatal August 24th, 1662. (The fellows oft in this time expressed their disgust to me behind my back, and professedly said I should not preach unless I would conform. Yet the Lord still kept me on in his work for this year and quarter; as long as I could have preached anywhere, he protected me to preach to my own people.) And so, though I had no more hold, and was but in an unsettled condition, and on the matter, ad placitum, yet it served for the time of my liberty, as well as if I had been never so settled. I could but have preached

if I had been fellow; and I must have gone out now, if I had been fellow. And sometimes I think it was much better than if I had been fellow, for, 1. I must have read and conformed more than I had any heart unto. 2. It might have been a temptation to have gone further, as others did. Or, 3. I might have lost of esteem by compliance, whilst I had tarried, in that when I had come off, might have rendered me less respected. But God saw it best, and so would have it just as it was. The Protestants in France have for above twenty years lost all their cautionary towns, and yet they have their liberty undisturbed; and it could be no more, if they had caution and security for it. God is security for them. And so I tarried as long as I could tarry, though I was not settled. God kept me unsure, and himself secured it till the time when the general death took me off. Sometimes only this would be an objection: If I had been a fellow, I might have had two or three hundred pounds for fines, which might have been a fine stay to my family. Answ. 1. It had come with many a curse of several persons undone, the clamour whereof I could never have borne. 2. My weakness might have been such, when engaged in such a business, that I might have been blinded as well as others were, and so matters would have been no better for me. 3. Yoked with such persons, they would not have been ruled in the least by us, but we must have borne reproach with them. 4. I might have been less looked after when turned out because of that money; and so I might have had as little by this time, as I have now. 5. I have just as much, and what, and in what way, God would have me to have it. And so I would be satisfied in the whole, that God hath done all himself, and done it all for the best.

And to return: September 29th, (Saturday,) I had had a sweet evening in secret, meditating of affairs. And I was sent for to Mr. Buxton late at night, and he shewed me two orders. The one was effectual, I blessed God, for Mr. Heyrick, to settle him; and he looked not for it. The other for me, not worth anything.

October 11th, (Thursday.) Sir G. Booth was in town, and I was with the townsmen to attend him at Mr. Heyrick's, and they collated him on my score, and I was most part of the day with them, and after he was gone I came home. And not being fit to study, I went out, not having any particular aim in my going forth; and I met with the prettiest little check, which afforded instruction to me. It was in that Col. Massey of Audlem saluted me very kindly, and used me with much respect, and yet fell to mention a passage long since (about a letter which I writ to Mr. Machin, when he should have settled at Audlem;) but he insisted not on it. But I might finely have met with trouble by the shift.

October 21. After five Sabbaths' intermission I went on again with a subject (1 John v. 3) I had been on at Manchester church.

November 7th, (Wednesday.) I was to preach at Eccles, and good Mrs. Ashurst was willing to go with me; and as she got on, my mare untowardly give a fling, which she used with her hinder feet, and flung her off, and broke her face sadly.

November 23rd, (Friday.) At a private day at Mrs. Barton's, it was dark, and I gave forth a stave or two of a psalm; and in a verse of Psalm cxxxviii. 5, ult., a verse I had so given out a hundred times, I am sure, I was quite out, and forgot the last line, and was forced to begin on another verse; which was noted by all the company, and was a breach in the devotion of the whole chorus. I was after troubled at it, but would have shaken it off. But I find God could baffle me in a prayer or sermon, and in a full assembly, and shame me for ever by it; (as eminent Dr. Hill was out in his sermon, that was talked of all England over, and is still.) My heart would put it off, but sure he strikes at — 1. My unpreparedness for the day. 2. At my needless lingering at going. 3. My sinful casual reading in Argalus and Parthenia, a little before I went.

November 28th, (Wednesday.) The choir service began at Manchester. My thoughts then of it were these: They tell us, that they set candles on the table to mind us of the persecution of former times, when all service was done by candles, and so the

sight of them may move us to bless God that now we do not need them. So this service may mind us what pitiful service hath been used, and is still doated upon by many; and bless God that ever we knew what better service meant. It shews us the provision our forefathers lived on; but if others sin to be our remembrancers, it is sad on the other hand.

December 10th, (Monday.) I received a civil letter from Mr. Weston, about a business I had writ to him, which is better than to be denied, and in bad words. I thank God for good words, for hard language would trouble me, though only deeds can help me. I was now deprived of my means, by the settling of the college; and they allowed instead of forty-six pounds but twenty pounds, and that not of a good while. But the Lord stirred up the people, and they gathered something for me, and so I was supplied.

January 6th, (Lord's day.) I was in my roving thoughts thinking, that if it please God to send peace this summer, the king might happen to go his progress; and if he should happen to come into these parts, it would be counted a great thing to have the king's favour; and if he should happen to send for me, and tell me that he heard I meddled not with controversies, but preached to win souls to God, and that he thought I did him good service in so doing, would be a great encouragement to me.

January 11th, (Friday.) I began my lecture at Stockport,—preached on Eccl. ii. 8; which the Lord graciously helped me on several days to a very fine audience. Mr. Warren gave me courteous reception and encouragement; and I promised to go on with it as I was able. He allowed me twelve shillings a day. And this I was silently admitted to; and it was an help to me. I held it till the 24th of August. My fit came again on the Lord's day, and I preached in it, the Lord wonderfully assisting me. But I had a terrible hot fit at my return, and it was sadly in my head; yet the Lord helped me with good thoughts, which was a great comfort to me. The physicians concurred to let me blood: it was done Jan. 16th, (Wednesday.) I preached again next day, at the funeral of Capt. Birch's wife, of Ardwick; but I had about four terrible fits:

the last did greatly amate me, lying so sadly in my head. The physicians concurred in their directions about me; which I accounted a great mercy. Mr. Dunster preached for me at Stopford on the Friday, and Mr. Alex. Jones on the Lord's day. But I preached not the next Friday nor the Sabbath after; but the Lord restored me to my work at Stopford, February 1st. My dear brother Machin came to see me just as I was recovering, January 29th, and stayed one night with me.

February 24. I was ill this Saturday night. Should have preached on the Lord's day, but was forced to get Mr. Stopford to supply for me. I should also the Tuesday after have preached at Prestwich, at the marriage of Mr. Johnson and Mary Wilson, but was confined by this fit; which yet it pleased God to cause to pass off me in much mercy: but it kept me in ten days or more.

February 27th, (Wednesday.) When I lay ill of this fit, Martha, a servant that would not forbear her tongue, nor mind her business, and too much borne with by some that should have carried otherwise towards, went away in this heat. I wrote this business in latin in my diary, and some notes upon it. And after I find this: But I think I might speak better English in this business. Yet for a late latinist, (as I am,) it were good when the spirit is heated with any occasion, to write it in latin before he utter anything of his disturbed mind upon it. And it may be turned in his second thoughts, into better and cooler English; and I had these reflections on this occasion: The philosopher that made an excellent speech to persuade a city to peace that was distracted with great variance. Another rose up as soon as he had done, and said, How should this orator think to persuade us that are so many, to peace and unity, when he has none in his own house but himself, a wife, and a servant, and yet so few cannot agree.

Saturday, March 2. I was but weakly and low myself, in a very sickly condition as to my body; and in meditation in Mr. Baxter's Rest, I found much comfort. But my great fear was thus dealt with. If I do fall into reproach for not providing for my family, (for this is now my constant fear, lest I die and shall leave nothing

for my wife and children ;) and so men will say, This was his strictness, and this is Puritanism ! see what it gets them ! what it leaves to wife and children !

March 8th, (Friday.) When I was pretty hearty again, and had been at Stopford and preached there, when I came home in the afternoon, I met strangely with what I looked not for, viz., a denial by the Fellows here of my continuance any longer here. My thoughts of it were—1. It is as the former was, sudden, expecting otherwise, and now this comes. 2. It was greatly my own fault that I should be thus surprised, for it was security, that I should not think this possible, nay very likely. 3. I might in prudence have advised with the Fellows at a distance, touching their intentions, and so have known this all this while, and have been prepared, and provided every way for it.

May 20th, (Monday,) at night, by the post we heard the parliament had voted to burn the covenant, and it was rumoured that none should preach that were not in episcopal orders.

June 3rd, being Whitsunday, I first saw those two precious friends of mine, Mr. Henry Ashurst and Mr. Nathaniel Hulton. June 7th, Mr. Ashurst was a little while at my house, and sweet society I had with him.

I had much business upon my hands, and much company, that I could get but little time for my studies; insomuch that about this time I noted that such a day nobody had been with me of all day to take me off my studies. But this made me sometimes unwilling to go to persons, when I was sent for ; and though I never refused, yet I went grudgingly sometimes. And yet I strive after to go willingly, and to go to visit the sick of my own accord ; for I found by experience that these duties were made so sweet to me, that I got many times more in them than I looked for, and more than I could have got in my study that while, which made me count of something equivalent whenever I was thus called off, and I frequently found it so.

June 23rd, (Lord's day.) Rose began of the measles, and the children all of them had them, and Edward Eccleston and all ; and

a sore sick time we had with them. They were very ill till July 7th. I left them ill when I went to Clough House, which I did June 25th; baptised Joseph Unwyn, and preached at Talke; went that night to see my tutor at Bartomeley, whom I had not seen of a great while. When I came near I inquired for him, and one told me he was gone to Chester, which much troubled me; but when I came to the house, he was just come in before me, which I took as a great mercy, and so had his company that night, and Mr. Wrigley's and his the next day till noon; and so I got home not till late at night, being to preach the next day at Stockport.

July 27th, (Saturday.) The Lord Delamere went to see Colonel Holland; came alone in his coach, and sent to me to go with him, and took me in his coach. Abundance of familiar discourse I had with him, in the things that were now on foot. And I remember as I came home, lest I should take any proud pleasure in the remembrance of this journey, I had the hap to speak an improper word; it was this — that Mr. Angier had great hopes of Colonel Holland, because he had by many offices of love in times past engaged the prayers of good people for him — and I had the hap to say he was the *object* of many good prayers. I was sensible it was a wrong word, and it troubled me ill, and I thought it might make me ridiculous.

August 21st, (Wednesday.) At Ormskirk visiting Mrs. Ashurst, I met with a book of my grandfather Dr. Sparkes's, intituled, "A Brotherly Persuasion to Unity and Uniformity," printed 1607.

August 29th, (Thursday.) Upon some accidents befallen others, as little Peter Heywood that took up a pistol and shot his maid dead, I thought what sad things these were to happen to any of ours, and I urged my heart to meditate more.

September 3rd, (Tuesday.) Mr. Case desiring to keep a private day in the behalf of Judge Booth, who was now exceeding weak in Ireland, it was kept in the chamber I studied in, and we had about sixty at it, all the chief in the town.

September 17, (Monday.) I heard of Mrs. Holden's danger about the Quakers. The temptation was from the ceremonies in the church,

&c. I sent for her, and the Lord made use of this inquiry after her to be a means of her settlement, and establishment in the truth.

September 21st, (Saturday.) I preached to the townsmen at their fair on Prov. xiv. 34. I spoke particularly against drinking healths; was at dinner with them, and it pleased God there was no health offered, only a bit of one sneakingly, which came to nothing. It is good to take courage for God, and to dare to do one's duty.

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(1) October 1st, (Thursday.) Our children going all to George Smith's of Ainsworth.

October 30th, (Friday.) Judge Mosley removed from our house to Mr. Ridge's house. His wife came to us about January 7th, and she had tabled with us till his return out of Ireland, with her son and servant; and himself and man from July till now. We had much sweet company of them, and very contented God made our time together. Nothing but too much love was the danger which made the Lord soon after order a business to allay it. Yet I cannot but remember this time with thankfulness to God, wherein we had much good from them and with them.

October 23rd, (Friday.) I went to see my Lord Delamere before his journey into Yorkshire, (where he wintered this year,) and being walking in that great dining room there, I had a very fine solitary hour. I could not but conclude that we lose much by not being alone sometimes, and for want of thinking. I meditated of this — Who loved me?

November 15th, (Saturday.) It was a great and mighty flood this day and night. Surely the waters are not raised for us merely to look at, but to make use of.

February 2nd, (Tuesday.) Another new kind of trouble began upon me at this time, which occasioned much exercise unto me, and many thoughts of heart. Mr. Holbrooke was sent to me from the Warden to tell me of it. The whole business was thus. Mrs.

(1) The fuller Diary during the period from September 30th, 1661, to September 29th, 1663, having been printed in vol. xviii. of the Publications of the Chetham Society, the abstract of it in this abridged Diary is omitted.

Mosley having lived with us about three quarters of a year, and now being removed from us, there was a great league of friendship at this time, and much familiarity and frequent visits between us, which was envied by some; but it occasioned this trouble thus. Whilst she lived with us, she having some sewing work, my wife commended Mrs. Holden to her, and so she was grown very intimate and familiar with her. The servants in the house envied it, and thought that she made their mistress worse with them, and so they devised stories against her to have gotten her out of favour with their mistress. But one story among the rest was somewhat hateful, viz. that she should report such a secret passage between her husband and her, that indeed was not fit to be spoken of, (and was not altogether so neither,) and this they laid upon my wife, that she should say that Mrs. Holden had told this story at Mr. Heyrick's. They (as God would have it) never came to inquire of us whether any such thing had been spoken by us, but went to the Warden's to clear Mrs. Holden, and they asserted her innocent. Upon which Mr. Holden and his wife conclude that we had raised these stories out of malice unto them; and one night, he being in drink, in his rage went to the Warden and told him all that ever he could remember had passed at any time in way of familiarity between him and me concerning the Warden, and put the worst construction that he could upon every passage, to revenge himself upon me for this supposed injury. The Warden charges Mrs. Holden to tell him whatever she had heard me say at any time, and said he would justify her at the day of judgment for so doing, (as Mrs. Holden after reported.) And now they having been thus banded among them a sufficient time, the matter is brought upon me. And it appeared that this report that so enraged them against us, we never had heard one syllable of till all this mischief was come upon it. But the Lord ordered it that it should be an affliction unto me, and so indeed it was, and of long continuance. The things that I was to give the Warden satisfaction in, when we came to rip into them, they were maliciously taken up and gathered, and falsely represented as from me, and they were fullier charged upon me by the Warden too than they would after own to have

been represented to him, after the manner of tales, that usually get such additions and alterations in their passage. I soon after met the Warden, and had discourse with him; and about three or four days after, Mr. Illingworth and I went up to him and had a final hearing of all the matters. Some things were about the fellowship, which the Warden took grievously that I should charge him with any neglect of me in, and for which he had always my charity, (which yet, in the judgment of most that knew that affair, he needed,) and for speaking of his conformity, of his futility, and taking up reports, &c. To which I answered; 1. That the matters were angrily and maliciously revived against me. 2. The things were old, and pretty far gone out of my mind. 3. Something might be said which was wrong taken up and wrong accented, and the matters so long since, and occasions forgotten, that I am not able to recollect myself in them. 4. I did acknowledge that the particulars I had not remembered, yet I know not my own baseness of heart but I might speak evil of him, but I did not intend him the least prejudice, and my memory may fail me for what is done; and if any such things were spoken, I do disallow them, and confess them ill spoken, and promise for the future to do him all the right that lies in my power. We parted good friends that night, and so had no further reasoning about it between him and me any more.

About the same time I understood that some one had done almost the like office between Mr. Tilsley and me, which I had notice of from Mr. Hilton from London, (February 12th,) who had been in the country lately, and understood his prejudice toward me upon it. I went as soon as I could over unto him, (February 24th,) and we reasoned the matter. I could not obtain of him who did it, but I am confident it was some one that spoke as bad or worse himself by him, and I might freely speak what was spoken commonly of him, (though I believe he was wronged for the most part.) But I was forced to endeavour his satisfaction as well as I could; and though I had utterly lost him hereby, yet afterwards it pleased God to make it much otherwise.

The Lord's day after, (February 7th,) warrants being now sealed

against Mr. Angier and some others for imprisonment for preaching publicly, I was at the sacrament with Mr. Angier at Denton.

This business hung long on me. It begat a little distance between Mrs. Mosley and us, a kind of a remove one thought farther; for I saw I was deserted in this business by them, and the contrary part espoused. I thought it might be in mercy, for our great familiarity might have betrayed us to a greater sorrow, when I consider the maliciousness of a traducing world, and what Mr. Byfield suffered by Mrs. Ratcliffe of Chester, and she by him; and I hope we shall always have the kindness of Christian friends towards each other, but I think we shall have no great danger of being traduced in that kind. And how wisely this may be forecasted by my dear Father I may one day know. For Mrs. Holden having thus sadly abused the freedom we had admitted her unto, we did refuse her company for a great time, and I had this reason for it, which I gave in answer to her: that I could not in reason ever trust them that, if any body should tell them a lie by one, (which may soon be done by any one in a sinful world,) would, to revenge themselves, make the utmost use of anything they could gather up and recollect from anything they had heard or observed in my company. Many times I met her about it, and endeavoured to satisfy her. Though indeed I was satisfied it was not prudence ever to admit her to familiarity, and to be free much in her company, yet my heart yearned after her in respect of her soul, and I thought it was not right for me to neglect her that way. The parent and pastor should bear much; and I did from the first set her free to any other place that I was at, but as yet desired her to be excused my own house, for indeed she had so far abused my wife that I had no reason to pass away her right in the case, though I could do my own, and so I waited in the thing till the Lord had suffered our own weakness to breathe out fully, and she had her freedom again to what she desired about November 27th. But this was one of the wounds which I received in the house of my friends, and which is healed, but not without a scar. It leaves a very strong gusto behind it, and the remembrance of it is grievous to me.

March 21st, (Monday.) My son Daniel went with his brother

to bring John Russell and Ebenezer Fornace on their way to Oxford. He would not be persuaded nor commanded to change horses with his brother, but would ride on a fiery little mare, which was my cousin Davenport's.

May 21. We had the account of the passing of the bill against conventicles, which was the second degree the waters rose in upon us; though we felt not much evil from it neither.

June 9th, (Thursday.) I had now been three or four days at Dunham. There were great store of gentlemen and gallants there, and mighty entertainments. When I saw this gallantry and attendance, I was thinking, whether was more desirable, to have ability for all that entertainment, (such a house, furniture, provision, attendance,) or to be able to contemn it, and to be as well content without it. Both estates may do well, and not envy each other. He is bound hugely to be thankful for all these things; and he also that can do without them.

July 3. I communicated at Prestwich, we being denied our liberty at Manchester.

July 4th, (Monday.) I was told by Mrs. Poole (mayoress of Chester,) that the Bishop of Chester mentioning me, said that I kept many conventicles. I was troubled at it.

All this spring my wife had been exceeding ill; and a great exercise it was unto me. The doctor persuaded me take her to Hilton Spaw. I went to enquire of Thomas Topping about a convenient house near to it, and he most earnestly offered us to [lodge with] him, and to furnish us with an horse every morning to ride thither; and so July 7th, (Thursday,) we went to his house, and used the well till July 22nd, at which time we returned. The doctor persuaded to take another week, and we thought to go again next day, but my wife's face was so ill, that she was forced to be let blood for it; and her eyes were so swelled with it, that we could not go again of a week. But I saw a singular providence of God, in that we went home when we did.

September 10th, (Saturday.) I had an account of the death of my dear brother Machin. He died at his own house at Seabridge.

How hath the Lord weakened us of late! what prophets hath he taken from mine head! what admirable men of my acquaintance, within this seven years! Holy and meek Langley, acute and prudent Hollinworth, sincere Meeke, learned Herle, grave Hiet, laborious and solid Gee, and of late, in a few weeks' space, my two intimate friends Ambrose and Machin. For the things wherein they excelled, I have not known the like. Mr. Ambrose for his habitual course of contemplation and rare improvements of secret opportunities; and Mr. Machin for converse, the most naturally spiritual and profitable companion that ever I knew. Grace within him was so quick and living, that out of his belly did still flow forth streams of living waters.

September 17th, (Saturday.) I went to Whitley to meet my sister Machin. My brother Steele and I kept the Sabbath with her; and spent Monday there in viewing the books and papers. Was not so affected as I could have desired.

September 21st, (Wednesday,) was the Fair day at Manchester. Sir Edw. Mosley invited me to dinner with the town. I found a deal of peevish folly in my heart, envy and anger, that I was not invited by the town, as heretofore I have been.

September 24. We went again to Thomas Topping's, to meet his son; and went with them to Wigan, so to Ormskirk, to see our dear friend Mrs. Ashurst, who had been sick this summer. Was not well, and had just buried her daughter, Mrs. Starkey; and I stayed a day with her. Which part of my journey I was most satisfied in, because my company was some diversion to these precious servants of God in affliction. When we came home, October 1st, (Saturday,) I found a choice friend of mine dead, Mrs. Worthington, in which I had a very great loss, as had the family and town she lived in. She left me a ring, which her husband gave me by her appointment.

October 16th, (Lord's day.) I began the exercise in my family of having seven chapters of historical Scripture given account of, and to discourse of these sacred histories with the children, according to their capacity; which we have kept on foot with profit and delight, and gone over all the history of the Bible.

October 31st, (Monday.) We were several of us concerned in the case of William Williamson, who was now removing to an house in Newton, which he had built from the ground; and now when he should come, it was greatly disturbed. We were there this day; and kept part of it in prayer with him on this account. It pleased God that after a little while the house had quiet, and they removed to it, and found it a peaceable habitation; which we afterwards met to bless the Lord for.

November 4th, (Friday.) My dear brother Steele came over to me this night. We had help from him that evening in family duty. The next morning we went to Denton, where he preached to the occasion of the day, November 5th, and baptized a child.

We went out but on Saturday, and returned on Monday, and I found my friend Mr. James Lightbowne dead; who fell violently ill on Saturday night, and died on Sabbath day night. I was much startled with the providence and affected. And one thing that I observed was, that so many good friends had died when I was away — as Mrs. Lightbowne, Samuel Booker, my cousin Mary Shelmerdine, Mrs. Worthington, and now Mr. James Lightbowne; and after Isabel Boardman.

But my brother Steele's coming over this time, his company and excellent sermons, and this coincidence of an awakening providence, did give my soul the most considerable sensible awakening that I thought I had of seven years. I was more especially put on to write letters. Some to those that needed, &c.; particularly Mr. Holland and Col. Manwareing, &c.

About this time I had a little petty trial about the pulpit cushion. It was given by Mr. Hartley, by my privity and instigation, and he would oft say, he had never given it but for me; and so it was, by his appointment, lodged with me. Now Mr. Carter had long grudged that it was still brought to my house, and fetched thence every time it was used, and he had spoken of it; but it was slighted and no regard had to it, till now, Mr. Birch coming over, he suggested his grievance to him. And he, to show his forwardness, caused it to be lodged in the chapter house; and did it with reflec-

tion, saying that I might think to keep a title to an interest in the church by keeping the pulpit cloth and cushion; and for ought he knew, I might use it in conventicles at mine own house. The Warden and Mr. Mosley seemed offended at their rude removing it. And I could have taken these passages ill, but I thought it best to take no notice of it. I thought they knew not, or might not think of it, that it had never been given but for me. However, I hope I have a better title to Manchester church and pulpit than by the cushion. But it is not a matter worth speaking of. And I would think the best in the case, or not think very much at it; for so I think Jesus Christ, in such a case, would have done. This referred to that excellent discourse of my brother Steele's at his parting with us, on Heb. xii., Looking unto Jesus.

December 15th, (Monday.) I had appointed and promised to go to Dunham, to stay four or five days; and the Lord made the way exceeding fair over I expected; the horse carried me cheerfully, and the journey was short to me, though alone.

December 7th, I was thinking of a passage of my brother Ashmole's when we met him at Knutsford, how he discoursed with my wife about my conformity — that nonconformity could be nothing but in expectation of a change. Alas, a thing I never thought of.

December 8th. My Lord was in physic, and so came not out this day. I took the opportunity to enlarge in duty on some things for the good of the souls in the family, which I could not so well do when he was present, lest he should have taken hold of them to his further disturbance, because of his distemper. I returned December 9th, and found all pretty well at home, and far otherwise than I could expect; and I then thought I could never be thankful enough for the mercy.

I now thought of making a motion to my dear friend Mr. Illingworth, that we should in our converse help one another to raise and further something that was good in all our discourses. I am confident he would readily close with the notion, and we may do good by it, for vis unita fortior. Within a few days after these thoughts, my dear friend being with me, I looked on it as a mercy that he did so

seasonably begin of good discourse, and that he instanced in Dr. Hill, that one could never be in his company but some holy things fell from him.

January 17. I did, as we came together from Ordsall, make the motion to my dear friend that I intended, and he fully complied with it; and we called of Mr. Holdbrooke, and found Dr. Smith and Mr. Scholes there; and we soon had an occasion of putting this resolution into practice, the Doctor proposing to us to give helps against anger, and every one delivered his thoughts in two or three particulars.

The Warden had been in some inward trouble, and had writ to Mr. Case about it, and he about this time imparted it to me, and told me his condition.

In answer to Mr. Leadbeater's letter, I began a paper, and desired him to add to it, and to send it me back, and it was to this purpose; What might conduce to the awakening of the soul? Remember Mr. Dod's passage about desire to die; that to know what heaven is, and that it is thine, would make thee willing to go to it: and when it might be replied — Ay, if I had assurance, Why (says he) assurance is a thing that may be had, and what hast thou been doing all this while? It were woful to be in that pope's plight, or to be like it, that when he was a monk he hoped well, when cardinal he was more doubtful, and when pope despaired.

December 26th. Reading in Lloyd's book of English statesmen, I thought it was much to think what brave men we have had, how vast and gallant their spirits have been, have attempted high and brave things; and why should not we do as much so? Sure the business of souls is noble and gallant, and the bravery of the course of holiness transcends. I would by these examples ennoble my soul.

December 28th, (Wednesday.) I was taken off my studies by old John Doe and Besse Pendleton; I sat a great while with them, and pretty contentedly.

January 7th, (Saturday.) I had several strange dreams this night; but in one I saw much of the nature of the mind and fancy in dreams.

January 31st, (Tuesday.) The children shot at school for their cocks this day; and I was moved much with fear about them. I understood I had cause, for Daniel's hat on his head was shot through with an arrow.

February 9th, (Thursday.) I went with my sister to Northwich, to receive an hundred pounds; thought of staying all night, but the town being full of soldiers, and the day fair, we set out, and the evening favoured us, and we came home.

February 16th, (Thursday,) was a great day of visiting the sick.

I had now gathered what I could, and put it into a method, as a Narrative of the Life of our precious brother Mr. Machin. Brother Leadbeater was with me, (February 18th,) and he said, If brother Machin in heaven knew what we were doing, viz., gathering up passages of his life here, he would say, How would they write, if they knew what a life I live now! February 21st. We went together as far as Dunham this day. And I thought of it, how this very day, by the day of the week and time of the year, was it 1650, that brother Machin and I were together at Holmes Chapel, and preached there.

The next day, being February 23rd, the Lord let me go out to Thomas Tipping's, to a day of thanksgiving.

February 25th, (Saturday.) They had bespoken a collation at an ale-house at Prestwich, to spend money that was won at shuffle-board. We feared it would be an example for the excessive sinful ale-house going, and so resolved we could not go; but we went and told the Warden so beforehand, and he was of our mind, and so we concluded not to go.

March 3rd, (Friday.) Poor cousin Davenport went from Manchester to go towards London to see her mother. She was most eagerly set on the journey, and seemed to forget everything in comparison of it. We would go out to bring her on the way, and went but to Crosford Bridge, and my sister and Daniel went with them to Northwich. She was miserably used by that kinsman of her's. But she got her death in this very week's work. Went up in the hackney coach, and it was miserably cold, and she fell ill at London.

After a while was in danger of the plague. Could not stir further than she was carried, when she came down again to us, which was August 3rd, and never stirred out till she died: and lost her reputation wofully in the journey too.

March 13th, (Monday.) I was with my cousin Daniel at Wigan, where I was most kindly received.

March 16th, (Thursday.) I went with my wife to Clough-house. I desired that I might go in the good old spirit, and with the old design I have gone with some years since to Clough-house. I went that I might not disoblige my cousin, who had been so loving always to me, and on his desire to baptize his child; and I did come and did baptize it. I would fain have visited my sister Machin, but was hindered by the failing of my horse.

That night I was sent for to R. W., [Randal Walker,] who was in great trouble of mind; and I prayed with him and counselled him as well as I could.

What trouble and exercise I had now about Mr. Tilsley and my sister, by reason of the forwardness of the motion begun by himself, his sudden and strange cooling, his furious coming on again, and yet unhandsome giving it over again. I have no mind to set down the particulars.

April 21st, (Friday.) I was this evening writing letters late; and about ten, one messenger came after another to fetch me to Joseph Higham, whose little daughter Judith was slain this day, falling off the horse as they came from Stockport. I thought after that these providences are voices from God. Mr. Bannister's untimely death among the gentlemen in the midst of their jollity, and now the sudden death of this child among us, enough to awaken this whole town. Mr. Angier after came to visit Joseph Higham, and I understood what a precious man his father was.

May 19th, (Friday.) My wife being in continued weakness all this spring, that I could not count of a minute's rest, but even begged our ease and quiet from day to day, and almost hour to hour, I did conclude it the best way to go to Scarborough.

On June 10th, (Saturday,) my cousin Unwyn and his wife coming

to see us, resolved to go the journey with us. We set out, and came to Littlebrow that night. And the next day, I was sensible what a mercy peace was; that the highways were not unoccupied, and that we were not forced to seek bye-paths, or carry our lives in our hands. All concluded by the face of the morning of a wet afternoon, but it was cool and fine riding; and we came to Leeds, where we were kindly entertained of many friends. I was here under exercise with my poor cousin Unwyn, who proved very uncomfortable company this journey, through his distemper of suspiciousness of every one. We set out after dinner for York, June 14th. At Tadcaster my cousin was weary, and would needs have stayed there all night; but we dissuaded, and found mercy in the resolution, in that before we went out of the inn, a party of a troop of horse, with one of the king's carriages, came in into the inn. And we should have been loath to have nighted with that company, for we saw them boisterous and swearing, and profane some of them. And some of our company were heartier at York than they were there. We had the company of Mr. Mort and his wife and Mr. Jones all the way, they meeting us at Littlebrow. We set out of York by ten, and were in dispute whether to go to Scarborough that night or no. All were desirous of it, the way being even and fine; but my cousin Unwyn was against it. And we had a strange circumstance that did determine us, merely grounded on his suspiciousness, that a man that overtook us in the way, had an eye to us to rob us. But it was a mere mistake, for he was a gentleman's man well known in the town of Malton, where we stayed that night. June 16th. We came to Scarborough about four o'clock. We found mercy and a providence in it that we sent the night before, for the doctor otherwise had been gone to York this day, and so we had his company and counsel to set in to the use of the waters. And another singular providence we had in our lodgings. Mr. Hickson of Leeds, freely of his own accord, wrote with us to Mr. Saunders to accommodate us the best he could, which letter was of great use to us. The house we found taken up, and so they provided lodgings in private houses for us. Our lodgings lighted in one Mr. Hickson's a merchant's

house, who proved of kin to our friend at Leeds; and two neat rooms we had, and the woman of the house was mighty respective to us. And then another great privilege we had, that we had an ordinary by ourselves at eight pence a meal, which saved each person four pence a day whilst we tarried, and so also we were freed from mixed company. Mr. Tilsley was under the affliction of the emerods; and so we had his company to our great content the best part of the first week. We soon had in our company sensible and sad instances of greater afflictions than ours was, in the sad epileptical fits poor Mrs. Mort had, as to bodily distemper; and in the sad distemper of mind my cousin Unwyn was daily hurried with, enough to make us contented and thankful with what we have.

Our time was appointed for our return to York; and some of the company were advised to stay another week. Mr. Wilson being here, he resolved to go with us on Monday. Upon this my cousin Unwyn went away on a sudden on the Saturday, to Malton; where we came to him on the Monday, July 3rd, in the company of Mr. Andrew Taylor and Mrs. Rooksby, and we came with ease to York that night.

I had here the acquaintance of several persons of great worth, &c. Mr. Paler and Lady Carey, Sir George Vane and his lady, Mr. Fairfax, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Lever, senr., and Mr. Lever his nephew, Mr. Pell, and sundry others; and these that came to York with us. I found that the greater part that came to this well were good people; few ministers but nonconformists. I made this observation (for one) upon it, That by this it should appear that good people oft had the worst health, and might be most afflicted with bodily infirmities.

But being come to York, we spent July 4th there, it being the thanksgiving day for the victory at sea. We lay at Mr. Stopford's, and in the afternoon was visited by Mrs. Rooksby. Saw my cousin Rathband; and I saw Mr. Newcome, one of my name, a minister in York. The next day, July 5th, we came to Leeds; my cousin Unwyn getting before us, and over-riding us. We stayed there the next day, July 6th; saw the town, and spent the time in among

many good people, who treated us with the greatest kindness: and both at York and here, we heard from our children, to our great comfort. July 7th. We dined at Bradford, with Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Illingworth and several friends from Leeds accompanying us thither. And there Mr. Jones and Mr. Mort overtook us, and we came to Halifax this night. It was wet on July 8th. We went over the hills, but we were not much wetted; but we came to Rochdale in good time. As we passed thence we met one of our children, and understood by him the perfect welfare of our children. And the Lord brought us in safety home this day in good time; and pretty well. The Lord saw it good to allay our joy at our coming home, (though we had great cause to be exceedingly thankful,) 1. By the affliction of our neighbours and friends. Mr. Worthington had buried his pretty little daughter of the small-pox; Mr. Farrant, his only son; and the small-pox prevailing greatly in the town, and very mortal. 2. In the evening, after all duties, my cousin H. Manwareing came in with the post from London; and I was sadly put to it, because they proclaimed that none should receive either person or goods without the consent of the constables, because of the sickness that so sadly prevailed at London. I sent to him therefore to stay at his inn for that night, till I could speak with the constable; and he weakly took it ill, and after would not come to me. 3. My cousin Unwyn that the day before over-rid us, and would not stay with us at Bradford but rode quite away to Halifax, now also to-day over-rid us, and rode quite through the town to Turf Moss. This troubled me; and that I should at my return out of Cheshire, hear so sadly of him as I did.

July 12th, (Wednesday.) My old friend Mr. John Maisterson, came to me this night, and was with me all night. We discoursed of old matters, when in the university together; and great things we have both seen since that time.

July 17th, (Monday.) I went to Dunham again, and was there almost a week. I had discourse with Mrs. Dorothy Prior, a minister's daughter that never knew her father.

July 19th, (Wednesday.) My dear and old friend Mr. S. Langley,

was going to Manchester to see me, and by accident Jo. Swinton, because he had sometimes seen me at Dunham, would call now, and by providence I was there now, though I had not been there of a quarter of a year before. And so his disappointment was prevented, and I had his company all that day, and much satisfying discourse and company I had with him.

July 27th, (Thursday.) I was with Mr. Starkey and several of our friends at Dr. Haworth's at supper, and we were surprised with the news of Daniel's breaking his arm.

July 31st, (Monday.) I was called up to speak with one whom they knew not; feared some apparitor; but when I came down, it was John Whitehead the watchmaker, who came to advise with me about his spiritual condition, and I was greatly delighted in the opportunity.

August 3rd, (Thursday.) Poor cousin Davenport returned to town in her coach miserably weak, not able to stir. We came not in till ten at night. Just at Knotmill the coach overturned; my wife was in it; it pleased God there was no hurt done, but I was much affrighted at it, and rejoiced in the preservation.

August 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th. The Bishop in and about the town in his visitation. Dr. Mallory, my friend was in town August 8th, and mentioned me to the Bishop, which might have been a temptation to me, and the talk of it would have been great, and to no purpose but prejudice. But God saved me from the occasion by calling me out, that very hour, to visit one that was sick, as far as Ardwick Green; and when I came back, I found the Bishop taking horse and going away.

August 17th. The plague was now so terrible in London that when I went this night to hear the news, there came none. But if it had come, the company I perceived not free to read it, if there had been any, for fear of infection.

August 22nd, (Tuesday.) I went with my wife to Turff Moss, to see my cousin Mosley; found my cousin Katherine at home, and stayed most part of the afternoon.

August 23rd. Mr. Buxton's son was bringing his wife to town,

and we went to meet them, but received news they came not, for his wife had received hurt by a fall, and was forced to lie by the way at Newcastle, and came not of several days.

September 14th, (Thursday.) We kept a day in private for poor London, at T. Topping's, the room of my now present quarters. I insisted on Heb. xiii. 3.

September 24th, (Sabbath.) We went casually to visit my cousin Davenport this evening, as we used, and we found her dying, though she continued till Tuesday morning, and then went; as died precious Mrs. Farrant and Mrs. Beck (both good women) this week too. October 5th, (Thursday,) we set out of Manchester with her, and brought her to Marten, where we were all night; and here I had occasion, 1. Freshly to remember the many exercises and good we had at the chapel. 2. Our removing to Manchester, which was from that house. Here we were when fetched thither about eight years before. 3. We happened to lie in the very room where my old cousin Davenport died, who was our great friend. The next morning, October 6th, I had opportunity to go into the closet where my cousin lay in her coffin. I thought how silently she was laid aside, and what an end this death is! We buried her at Swettenham this day, and lay at Kermingham this night, where I heretofore lived a whole year, and my first child was born; and we lodged in the room where I lay that month in which my wife lay in. I had some serious thoughts in this room then. I am in some things better, and in some things worse since that time.

October 7th. We returned home, coming by Marten. I was much troubled to find in what disrepute this poor gentlewoman hath left the world. It is easy to see how a strong temptation, as she had, might make her do as she is said to have done (to the worst); and let them that think they stand, take heed lest they fall. They put me into mourning, (which I never was put into before.) Before the next day Sir Edward Mosley was dead. Many great alterations the Lord made with us here in a few days.

In my way into Cheshire, October 5th, one in the way upbraided me with engaging with Sir C. Booth for the king, and told me what

we had brought things unto. 1. I was sorry to see so much rottenness and inveteracy in men, that they should retain so much of an ungodly rebellious principle; a principle damned to hell by the apostle, Rom. iii. 8, and xiii. 2. 2. That we should be so unhandsomely used as we are by our friends. 3. Yet this is my great comfort, that we did our duty without respect to ourselves, fiat justitia et ruat cœlum. And I thank God, (my conscience bears me witness that I lie not,) that notwithstanding the usage we have had, yet if I knew it would be so, and had the same to do again, I would do as I did. It is enough to receive approbation and acceptance in heaven.

About this time sundry ministers were clapped into prison, as my brother Steele in Flintshire, my brother Leadbeater in Cheshire. I could not but be grieved that I was no more affected at it.

October 28. We heard of the act that it was passed.

November 3rd, (Friday.) Mr. Hyde had sent to speak with me; and I went this day to Stockport to meet him, and we sat together two or three hours. His business was to tell me of the fearful things he heard of my dear brother Steele. It was upon his diary being taken off him, and some passages in it that they interpreted to the worst of actions, as this — That such a day he went to such a place on a carnal account, and God turned it to a spiritual. This they interpreted to be some woman design, and no other. The truth was, he went to a fair to have bought a cow. He missed of that, and went home with a gentlewoman, and they had some opportunity for the soul together. Now this was formed into a dreadful story, and told to Mr. H., and he told it me. I gave him satisfaction as far as I knew.

November 15. Having now seen the copy of the act for restraining non-conformists, I desired seriously to think of it, in these heads: 1. In the extent of the trial. 2. The sins that have occasioned this evil upon us. 3. What is to be done in this case. 4. What is there to stay the heart in it.

We had many serious bouts of canvassing this business, both by word and writing. Many ministers in Yorkshire and London took

it. And it pleased God hugely to clear up our way to us, when Judge Keeling so strangely declared a contrary sense to Judge Bridgman. It makes the sense clearly unclear, and so is a sufficient ground to waive the oath, till it be agreed what is the sense.

November 19th, (Lord's day.) Mr. Hulton and his wife kept Sabbath with us, Heb. vi. 19.

November 20. Little Ellen Budle buried this day. I thought when I saw the beadles at door (these officers of the dead) that death was come near us; and how soon it may enter into our house we know not, but it might now as well have been at this end of the house as at that.

November 23. Mr. Holbrooke and I were to go to Denton; and I stayed some time of my horse longer than I desired.

December 24. I was much troubled at Mr. Tilsley's carriage, which now began to discover itself, in order to my sister. Yet I was a little satisfied in this, from considering how he insulted over Mr. Eaton, and now he hath done worse himself by many degrees; and I would not do so by him, lest I should ever do in anything as foolishly, and some one spare me as little. This day we buried a good friend of mine, Mr. William Byrom.

December 26th, (Tuesday.) My wife and I went to the Grange, and stayed till January 1st. December 28th, I was at Chester. Saw some friends there; found cousin G. Manwareing's wife weakly and very ill; Mrs. Radcliffe ill. I was carried besides all importunities to resolve to return. I was on a sudden (being near) moved to call to see John Schofield. I might after see some good reason for so doing, and to be a providence that I went then. And I found it so; for he died the next morning.

January 11th, (Thursday.) We buried poor Mr. Leigh of Gorton at Denton Chapel, by the day of the week the same day twelve months that we had before buried Mr. Eaton in the same place. Upon Mr. Angier's preaching and mentioning the like of Mr. Leigh, I could not but acknowledge that for outward things I never lived so well in my life, as I have done these three years since I was deprived.

March 4th, (Lord's day.) I was in expectation all the day before of my brother Steele's coming, to have gone with him to Denton, and he came not. It was a disappointment; and after I understood he was hindered by want of health; but we saw it a mercy that day, for Needham and the apparitor were there that day.

And now, March 24th, the Lord saved me from all my fears, and bore up my spirit; and in some good measure of cheerfulness I went out of Manchester towards Cheshire, with my wife and my dear friend Mr. Illingworth. We came to W. to Mr. Heyhurst, found our friend at home, and the house empty of other strangers. It would have been a great disappointment to have found it otherwise.

April 10th, (Tuesday.) By this time I made an end of Sleiden's Commentaries, that excellent history, wherein I observed how perfidiously Charles V. dealt with the Protestants, and yet the Lord afterwards brought him to that under[standing], that he was glad to grant them liberty for their religion. Some sadly suffered, as John Frederick duke of Saxony, and he wore it out to his death; and yet God owned his cause, and brought it about in a little time, and brought that proud and perfidious emperor to do that for the church, upon the account of his own interest, which he never intended to do. I now had time to write out the remonstrance preferred in the long parliament against the bishops.

April 23rd, (Monday.) My wife came to Tho. Topping's, the place we fixed on, and which the Lord in so much mercy provided for us to settle in, in this banished condition we are in, and I came thither to her that night. It was not thought of before, when it was appointed, but it proved that very day nine years that I brought my family to Manchester; and I cannot but say I was then sadder than I was now.

I had two or three years since began to review my old diary, and to collect some memorials of the Lord's dealings more historically, for the use of my children when I am gone; and I had carried it on for some few years as my work on Sabbath days, for any spare time I had in the evening. In my solitude I had pursued to '57; after I came to Tho. Topping's, I resolved to fix upon it, and to despatch it

to the present time, and it lasted me to this day, May 26th, on which day I brought it down to that day.

May 10th. At Street-Yate I was looking at the stocks. They are punishment for flagitious offenders. But many of God's servants have been put into the stocks; as Joseph's feet were hurt in the stocks, and Mr. Philpot, &c. I was thinking what a doleful, uneasy thing it was to sit in them; and unless one had God to think of, how uncomfortable it would be to sit so one day. Oh, then, what would hell be!

May 14th. I carried my wife to Manchester, and stayed a little there, and went to Dunham to see my Lord Delamere. I had this hint of comfort in my condition, that Mr. Eaton three years lived at Dunham, and his children at Warrington, and sometimes he saw them not of half a year together, and counted it no punishment, but a privilege that he had so good an occasion to be away. Now mine is but the same thing.

May 19th. Passing through the town again, and hearing of Mr. Hartley's dangerous sickness, and of his desire to see me, I did go down to Strangeways and prayed with him. It is not a quarter of a year since one told me that he, of all men, took exceptions at my staying in the town, and not framing some way to live, and not to be burthensome, &c., which I then took unkindly, but made my moan to God about it; and now in his sickness he wished for me when I was absent, and was very glad of my company, and desired my prayers.

June 1st, (Monday.) Mr. Crompton was angry at something I said to him, wherein I did not bear with his melancholy temper as I might have done. And when I talked to him seriously about his being so averse from preaching when now he had liberty, which we had not, he said I was serious now, and at other times as light as a chip.

June 24th, being Sabbath, Mr. Martindale was with me, and my whole family, and as we were going to Ellinbrooke Chapel, I thought we two went with the rebuke of God upon us. We go, though to good preaching, yet may not preach ourselves.

June 27th, (Wednesday.) To show the shortness and weakness of my spirit, I was troubled from a word that I accidentally heard that Mr. Tilsley should in discourse reflect on my habit at the Spaw the last year, very lately saying I was dressed like one to be married.

June 29th. It was this day that I had the first direct account of Mr. Coulborne's miscarriage, which did much trouble me.

July 3rd, (Tuesday.) We set out of Manchester and went to Littleborough that night. We were alone, only my wife and I; and just at Manchester town's end, a Yorkshire man light of us, who went to that place that night, and so we had the mercy of company. The next morning Mr. Jones came unto us; and when we had toiled hard to get up to the top of Blackstone hill, when just on the top my cloak, that lay between us, was lost, and Mr. Jones rode back almost two miles to retrieve it. But returning with it, the Lord turned all our troubles into a sense of a great mercy; for the loss of it would have put a doubt into us of our journey, laid us under a weary suspense and vexation of mind all the way. But the Lord shewed us only what he could have done, but spared us in it. We changed our purpose of going to Bradford as we went, and so went through Leeds that night, which proved a providence too. For if we had not come thither that night, Mr. Hickson would have been gone that morning to Wakefield, and we had wanted his letter to Mr. Sanders at Scarborough, which now we obtained; and this was a further content to us. We came July 5th to York, by five of the clock. As we rode the next day towards Scarborough, beyond Malton we overtook Mrs. Dickinson, (Capt. Saml. Dickinson's wife,) who had been at London since Christmas, and that very day was going homewards, with a little lad before her. She knew Mr. Jones; and after some discourse, by seeing lands on the side of Woulds ploughed, and corn growing, I had hap to say, Doth a man plough upon the rocks? which word (as after I understood) took very much with her. But when we came near the town she told us, that if we pleased, we should have a room at her house, merely for our company sake. We did not accept of it then. 1. Because we had been civilly used by Mr.

Sanders the year before. 2. My wife was afraid of her coming from London because of the sickness. But when we came to Mr. Sanders's, the inn was crowded, and he could provide us no lodgings in town. So then we reassumed Mrs. Dickinson's offer. Dr. Witty was with us, and advised us to take it, and persuaded my wife against all fear in the case. Mr. Sanders willingly received the horses, and we went to her house for our quarters; where we had two excellent rooms, a private house, and lived of a selves, for a third part of the charge it would have cost us at the inn.

July 9. We had sad discourses, (of what afterwards was the talk of the whole year,) viz., of the Papists arming, and the fear of a commissionated massacre. How groundless soever the fears were, they had this influence on me at that time, as if they had been just fears, (for fears are fears, just or groundless, and work alike for punishment or profit on the hearts of people,) and my thoughts wrought on these heads: Such a murder or massacre might be very sad: 1. In that sudden and terrible to friends. 2. In that such a thing hath happened in France and Ireland. 3. It might be done, and none ever to enquire after it. When the massacre was acted in France, (by the treacherous Charles IX.,) our Queen Elizabeth was offended at it, and E. of Leicester and Cecill wrote smart letters about it, yet it effected little; and some remainders of that poor people fled hither, and were naturalized and lived here, and [there] are of them to this day: but there is no where, as matters now stand, for us to fly to, and no Prince or State to expostulate the case for us.

These were my thoughts then; and we were soon for that time eased of those fears. But the insolency of the Papists continuing, occasioned the composing of that discourse on Luke xii. 4, 5.

We had in this time, the sweet society of Mr. Perrot, Mr. Pringall, and some others from Newcastle and Beverley. And on July 23rd, (Monday,) we set out from thence homewards; and though we had weariness in our journey, yet we rested at Leeds the day we had intended for Bradford, understanding Mr. Waterhouse was not at home, and so got home July 26th, and found ours pretty well. And I came home but just in season, for my brother Steele just now came

to town, whom I had not seen if not thus returned; and Mr. Crofton's letter and papers just now came, and so were not hindered a moment by my absence. This journey was full of mercy. And I saw it the more in that a little after poor Mr. Scholes did but go to York, and hired a horse, and he tired before he got to baiting, insomuch that he was put to it, to hire horses there to carry him through, and to hire to bring the horse back. Great charges and trouble! And my brother Steele even now coming over, his horse at Warrington was strayed away, insomuch that he was forced to come on another horse to Manchester; and the horse was not heard of, of four or five days. And all such things we were spared in.

August 6th, (Monday.) We came to Ainsworth to George Smith's, where we stayed till August 16th. I did take some pains in that family, as I had cause, and good opportunity to do. We kept one day private.

August 30th, (Thursday.) Being at Dunham, and reading accidentally in the preface to the French Synod in '46, the miserable torments of a poor man did much affect me. They filled his boots full of grease, and set him upon a form over a slow fire, and so stewed him to death. Ut sentiret se mori. I was thinking, how delicately we suffer over these did. We fare of the best, lie soft, &c.; only as yet driven a little from home.

About this time the talk was general as to persons in our capacity, that they would let us alone, for our time is but short; the next session of parliament we shall be banished. This they expect and desired.

September 2. We had a sweet day of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Cockey Chapel; and we had an high day and evening of it. A sweet Sabbath over our poor brethren at London had; which began to be on fire this day. The news of it came on Thursday night, and was confirmed by the post after. A most dismal amazing providence, and the saddest symptomatical stroke that we have had yet. My thoughts on that occasion were digested upon Esay. xxviii. 22, to the end. Vid. Dec. 4.

My wife's distemper now for a time broke all bounds, and raged sadly, and I had a month at least of much affliction thereby.

One night about this time, when I was to go into the town on foot in a fine moon-shine night, I thought it wonderful that I should get in and meet nobody. I thought of his sending his angel with me, to clear and ready the way for me.

And very providentially, about this time I went first to Houghton Tower; and my lady, having been exercised with the like distemper herself, did prescribe after some time some things to her [my wife], that did her very much good.

October 9th, (Tuesday.) When Mr. Martindale came to call of me to go with him to Hoghton Tower, he accidentally told me of the death of Mr. Shaw of Thorneton; and that living being again fallen void, I was in hopes I might have had some hand in the presenting some friend to it, and thereupon wrote to Mr. Eaton and Mr. Harrison that night, and sent letters away by a special messenger next morning. October 12th. We returned from Hoghton Tower, and then I understood that my letters sent missed very providentially; for Mr. Eaton was gone from home, and Mr. Harrison was at Dunham, and so his letter lay at Manchester. October 13th, I received a letter from Mr. Harrison, by which I understood the living was gone by an antipresentation to Sir Jo. Arderne's brother, and so my matter was muchwhat defeated. The next day I had a letter from Mr. Eaton, which acquainted me fully how it was.

October 21st. I was this day put in mind of some of the sins of my childhood by the weather, a softly rain. It made me freshly remember how at this time of the year, on the Lord's days ofttimes, in just such rainy days, we have played eagerly at bandy-ball. We counted it fair enough for that sport, and we usually played at it on the Lord's day.

October 22nd. We went to Ormskirk to see Mrs. Ashehurst, the Lord unexpectedly favouring us in the weather, and in respite of my wife's distemper.

November 6th, (Tuesday.) Upon my return to Manchester, I

found men in great expectations of some good at this time from the parliament, from some votes against the Papists.

On November 8th, we waited for more news of this subject, and heard nothing.

November 30th, (Friday.) Sad apprehensions of Papists, insomuch that it was my serious thought — What case am I in for killing?

At this time I received a letter from Manchester from my friend, which hinted to me that Mr. Hartley should say that there was a conventicle of two hundred, at which Mr. Tilsley and I preached.

December 4th, (Tuesday.) I now understood by letters from my brothers how they have all lost by suretiship or otherwise; as now poor brother Thomas hath by the fire of London lost £600.

February 4th. Upon my wife's going to the town before me, I had the opportunity of much serious inward discourse with Mrs. Mosley, and it did me much good.

February 13th. It was their shooting day at the Cocks. We prayed that God would keep our children from doing or receiving any hurt.

February 21st, (Thursday.) I having been in the house several days together, went this day with Mr. Finch to Dunham, to take the air and to see Mr. Eaton, and it was a special providence; for this day the chimney lookers came and searched every room for hearths. It would have troubled me to have been seen, or forced to hide myself. And so (February 27th) I was at Hilton Lane, came thither but the night before, and this day they came to take the names for the poll-bill, and I was ready there to give directions about it.

March 6th. Unthought of and unexpected, I had £7 ordered me from friends in London.

It was a mercy, upon our return from Hoghton Tower, we found Thomas Topping put on to be collector for the poll-money. I wrote to the justices, and my wife went with it March 7th, and we got him off, or he could not have gone with us.

March 17th, being the Sabbath day, (and the day before we set

out on our journey with Harry,) I insisted on Job i. 5 among my children, now in their beginning to part asunder; the notes of which sermon Harry desired, and so he hath them.

March 18th. We set out from Manchester, lay at Carincham that night, and there left all our family who brought us thither, save Daniel and Mr. Peter Warburton, that with cousin Henry Manwaring brought us to Newcastle the next day, and then returned back to Carincham, and we lay at Stone that night. We had the next day a comfortable day and journey to Lichfield, and so to Cosehill, where we lay. On March 21st we had a wet day, and bad way after we parted with London road; and at Marten an indiscreet maid set us out of the way, and we were entangled in Towne-feilds, dirty and wet and without shelter; and being out of the way did more afflict us than either the way or the weather. It put us late before we reached Southam; but there we found a good house, where they made much care to refresh and dry us; and the day clearing up a little, we adventured the other ten miles that night to Banbury, the way exceeding bad and solitary, it being a depopulated country (by reason of the enclosures) in comparison, and we were oft in much doubt of our way, (by reason we could meet with none on the road to inquire of,) and it was a great addition to the trouble of the way, an uncertainty whether we were in the right way or no. But it pleased God, through much pains and patience, we came to Banbury, though it was very late first. And I was hugely brought down in my strength by this day's toil and vexing, and indeed I saw much of the weakness and vanity of my spirit in being so pettish as I was this day. I was the next morning pretty hearty, and a smith shod the horse pretty skilfully, and we set out from Banbury the next morning, and had a fine day, and came in to Oxford about two of the clock. Mr. Topping joyfully received his father and us, we lighting at the Blue Boar. March 23rd. Harry was admitted by Dr. Tully in Edmund-Hall. I had much satisfaction in the Doctor, the government of the house, and the good tutor I hope I had for him, Mr. March. I had many thoughts of heart and fears when I saw the looseness of many. Harry put on his gown on the Monday, and was

matriculated on Friday. The carrier not coming in as was expected, we resolved to stay in Oxford till Monday; on which day, being April 1st, having settled matters as well as we could, we set out of Oxford about eight, Thomas Topping going about an hour before us homewards into Lancashire. We designed for Bedfordshire, knew not the way, and had no direction but what Mr. March gave us by the maps, and had no company but ourselves on our one horse; and thus we crossed the country to Bister and Buckingham, and so came to Stoney Stratford, where we lay that night; and the next day by one of the clock came to Wymington to our brothers' houses, where we found them well, surprised with our visit. Glad we were in our heart to see one another.

April 8th. We went to Allerton. I visited my uncle at Sawtree; called at Denton to see my poor afflicted aunt Peacock; saw Caldcot the old place, now changed and left, and much altered. April 12th. My brother and sister came with us to Wymington, and here we spent two or three days all together. My brother Robert and I preached on the Lord's day. April 16th, (Tuesday.) We parted with my brother and sister for Allerton. On the next day my brother Stephen went with us towards London; lay at St. Alban's. April 18th. We came to London about 12. We saw the woful spectacle of that ruinous heap, and found some friends sadly reduced by it, that much allayed the joy of our meeting. But yet we lay at my brother Thomas's, at his poor house in the Minories. (The truth is, I was much troubled that I found family duty much neglected, singing in families quite laid aside, morning prayer omitted, and at night cushions called for and a little prayer. I found they strove to hear as much as they could, and this was most of their religion. It troubled me much; and I met with my brother Steele in London, and he observed the same thing. I therefore made bold to read the Scripture where I lay, and, in preaching, to intimate my thoughts to them about this neglect.)

April 20. We dined at Mr. Ashurst's at Lauderdale House. On Monday saw the Lord Delamere, just ready to go into the country; and that day met my brother Ashmole. It was St. George's Eve,

and that solemnity was to be kept at Westminster; and so we went, and saw the king in his robes for that day. We returned to our quarters, and found my sister in travail. She was delivered about eight at night of a son; which, two or three days after, I baptized. It was named Thomas, but it pleased God it died when a few days old, and was buried May 5th, in the churchyard of St. Dunstan's in the East; where lie my two brothers John and Daniel, and six children of my brother Thomas's, and my aunt Susan Williamson.

April 23rd, (Tuesday.) My brother Stephen and I, and uncle Thomas Watts, went to Swanscomb in Kent, to see my uncle John Watts, whom I had not seen of fifteen years. We returned to London the next day, and found relations well, and letters from the country, and Oxford, that gave the same account of relations there.

Friday, April 26. My brother Stephen parted from us on his journey homewards. And we went to St. John Street at night, to lie at Mr. Bucknall's; where we were most kindly received, and stayed there till May 6th. On May 1st, we went with brother Ashmole to Lambeth, and saw the great rarities in John Tredeskin's study.

On May 6th, (Monday,) we went to Newington to Mr. Hulton's. On Wednesday, May 8th, we kept a fast day at Major Thompson's house, where joined with me Dr. Staunton and Mr. Senior; and we had many lively christians with us. On May 10th, Mr. Ashurst went with me to Acton, to see Mr. Baxter. He put me upon family duty; and I found myself very dry and unfit, being tossed about, and very highway-like. He preached to his own family after dinner on 1 Thes. iv. 17, 18. He was discoursing before, that he had great comfort against the great sin of unwillingness to die, from the consideration of a glorified mediator; and in his sermon he discoursed rarely of it.

May 14th, (Tuesday.) After a day of much business at the city, we were put very late to go to Newington, and providentially met with Mr. Hulton's nephew in Moor-fields, who, in consideration of our strangeness, and being late, very lovingly went back with us; and so we came late and weary, yet safe thither, and in less fear

than we should have done, had we known how many persons going at such a time have been stripped and sadly abused. I took leave of Newington friends (May 15th) in a discourse on 1 John v. 11. Mrs. Dickinson, our Scarborough friend, found us out here this day, and came with us to London.

On Friday, May 17th, we got ready for our journey. It rained continuedly, that we stayed at Mr. Bucknall's till four, and yet then set out. My brother Thomas brought us to Southwell, and after we got in the evening to Beckensfield. We came the next day betimes to Oxford, found Harry well, and all things ready in respect of company for our journey. We dined May 21st, with my cousin Clarke, Fellow of Lincoln College, at his mother's in the town; and May 22nd, we set out from Oxford. Harry came with us to Southam; was ill with riding, but we left him well. And the next morning, with Mr. Topping and the two Mr. Morts, came on our way for Lancashire; and that night at Lichfield, we met with Mr. H. Ashehurst the younger, and Mr. Dandy, and so got home to Manchester on the Saturday, May 25th. We came by Congleton. I saw several Gausworth friends as I rode by. My old neighbour Mr. Jeinson, vicar of Prestbury, was going to his grave as we rode by. The Lord shewed us much mercy this very day. 1. In that my wife lost her hood as we set out from Talk on the Hill; and it was lost before Mr. Dandy got on horse back, and after we had overtaken him, and so he found it. 2. In Mr. Topping's preservation from the danger of falling down a desperate precipice on this side Prestbury. 3. In that we fell ourselves just in St. Mary's Gate in Manchester, and had no harm. But we found all our's well at our return.

June 14th, (Friday.) We went to Hoghton Tower, where we took physic, and stayed a fortnight. At this time we heard the news of the sad fears they were in at London, by the Dutch coming to Chatham and firing the ships.

July 19th, (Friday.) We were at Hulme, and had some precious opportunities in duties, and sweet society with Mr. Saltingstall and his precious wife. But lest I should be exalted above measure by

these sweetnesses, and to humble me for sins, I was much troubled at what happened about Mr. Heyricke. My wife was at town, and out of kindness stayed to speak to him, and to enquire of his welfare; and he would not speak to her.

This night I understood that Mr. Heyricke had no exceptions against me, but that I had not called of him; which I could answer many ways, being but by stealth in the town, and so could not do as I would. But if this be all, I will gladly study not to fail herein for the time to come. So the very next day, as we were going out of town, we did visit him, and we were friendly received, as we used to be, and we were satisfied and gladded that there was no more difference. But alas, being now at Ainsworth, the next news I heard was of the sudden and dangerous sickness of poor Mr. Heyrick; insomuch that August 1st, (Thursday,) I went on purpose to see him, (and returned back at night to Ainsworth.) I found him very ill. We returned to town on the Saturday, August 3rd. August 5th was kept in private on his behalf. I went every day to see him; and on Tuesday in the evening we had a report that he was better, and went up to see him towards evening, and he was declining fast; insomuch that Mrs. Heyrick desired us not to leave her; and we did stay, and was at prayer for him just as he died, about nine at night, on August 6th, (Tuesday.) And thus the Lord turned off all our petty trifling fears of differences, and swept them all away by this sad providence; and August 9th, (on Friday,) we buried my old friend and colleague.

August 10th, I had letters from Oxford. One from Mr. March, which gave me a comfortable account of Harry, which was a great refreshment to me.

August 27. We had now fresh talk about an Indulgence. A copy of a Bill of Comprehension was seen, and transmitted to us.

August 29th, (Thursday.) Mr. Stratford, the new Warden, was this day installed. A stranger, unthought of, unknown of, unsought for; and of all that we thought of, none so likely to be a mercy to this place. A good man, of a sweet temper, brave scholar and preacher; and one that hath an estate of his own, and seems to

resolve to settle in the place and to reside. This we thought then; and then, it was so.

September 2. Mr. Baldwin told me of the woful miscarriages of Mr. Gee's son; which may make me tremble to think what may become of mine.

September 6. Being abroad at Hulton lane, we walked abroad and nutted. It put me in mind of my youth; and might have minded me of sin, in that sometimes on the Lord's day, when a child, I had done so.

September 15, I heard this day how Mr. Warren, and some others, stormed at any thoughts of our liberty; and it is believed they will warm one another all they can against it. And some friends think it had been better it had not been spoken of so long before the parliament meet; for now they that are against it will strengthen, and prepare themselves the more.

We had affliction now in the afflictions of our dear friends Thomas Topping and his wife, in the sickness and death of Lydia Higham, their precious daughter. She died just when we had come thence; so we went again soon after to keep them a little company in the days of their mourning.

September 16th, (Monday.) Mr. Johnson was accidentally in the town at this time, and so we hasted home, that we might have the opportunity of speaking to him about the repairs of the house. But I urged it too far and too hotly; and angered both Mr. Johnson and William Barsley. I see my weakness. To take men in their humours, I understand not; and passion never does good. I was troubled hereupon.

October 2. The parliament being now to meet, and all the expectations of every one from it, I was thinking how God hath tied us up wholly to expect from him. For where as heretofore at parliaments, we have thought it our duty to meet and frame petitions, and get hands, and send them up, &c., now all this is wholly taken out of our hands.

October 14th and 15th, (Monday and Tuesday.) My wife went to speak to Mr. Wickins, and in that time I went to God by prayer,

to beg of him to direct her, that matters might be made better and not worse by her going. He hath been my present help in many such cases.

We went to Ormskirk, and stayed two nights there. I was troubled at my unprofitableness, and groaned under the sad sense of it, that I went about (so unlike to my Lord) doing no good.

October 18th, (Friday.) We went from Ormschurch to Hoghton Tower. We saw mercy in that we went this day against much solicitation to have stayed, the next day proving so foul, in that a man fell in with us and rode two or three miles about Leland, most difficult to find, and we got in just before a deal of sad rain.

November 3rd, (Sabbath.) Mr. H. Ashehurst coming to see me, Dr. Haworth, a justice of the peace, would needs come in with him. And it was a providence that it was at a time when all the company was come in, and I had prayed; and so went down to him and sat with him, and he went away and saw and suspected nothing.

November 27th, (Wednesday.) I should have been at a day of prayer with Mr. Harrison, but my wife's illness was such that I could not stir from her.

I was much taken with remembering John Hollinworth, the lewd degenerate son of my pious predecessor.

In this interim, about December 28th or 29th, I received Mr. Poole's specimens, and was hugely taken with the business. The matter was obstructed above by oppositions of Mr. Bee. These were soon brought hither, and much trouble I had to get anything done. Yet at last God succeeded my part towards the work, insomuch that one hundred and twenty-eight pounds was returned by me by the time appointed.

Great talk of indulgence had been this winter, but February 13th news came of the dash that was given to our hopes, from the parliament about it. But all for good.

On February 17th, I went to see Mrs. Wickens, who was very weak. I saw her not; but before I got home, I heard she was dead.

I received a letter of Harry's; being ill again. And he was worse

than I understood till I saw him some months after. And God ordered Mr. Steele and Mr. Martindale to be there, upon the very time of his falling sick; whose prayers and good council he had. Mr. Wickens also, was there at the same time; and they returning, and Mr. Topping coming down, brought me news of his recovery pretty soon.

May 10. We went to the sacrament to Denton.

And now I received letters from Mr. Ashehurst the younger, (my cordial friend,) of a place that he had provided for Daniel; and he must be got ready as fast as we could. And I having been ill, and loath to go up this summer, my cousin H. Manwareing offering to go up with him, I thought so to have sent him; thinking it would save charges, — as also that it had been sufficient to send him up to Mr. Ashehurst, who had provided the place for him. And strangely the Lord ordered that we should go with him. Mr. Baines, in his way to Ireland, had called here July 11th; stayed but two days, and went on his journey. That morning that he went, when I scarce stirred out any way, yet I went to take leave of him, and in discourse chanced to put it on his thoughts, that if it lay in his way to promote it, I might take thoughts of going hence for a time. The reasons inducing were, —1. That I was here useless; durst scarce be known to be at home; and durst much less be known to do anything. 2. I had been long burthensome. I felt myself loath to continue it, if I could help it. 3. Many of my friends dead; and the contribution hardly a subsistence. 4. The advantage of disposing of my children, which here I could not look for. But it was a sudden indigested motion, and so little considered by me that I expected not the reviving of it, nor indeed desired it; because it carried so many difficulties along with it which I could not satisfy myself about. Nor durst I converse with any person about it; because if it got air, it might, if it proved nothing, greatly be prejudicial to that poor help that I had as I was. And thus when I had resolved to send Daniel with my nephew, and was well quieted so to do, and others so too, strangely and unexpectedly a letter comes from Ireland, (which was but on August 17th received by me, though written

many weeks before it came.) He there wishes me to repair to London, and that he would make way for my preaching to the people that he had left; and thought Providence might direct it to my further satisfaction. Upon this we delayed sending Daniel about a week longer than we had intended; and resolved to go up with him, principally to see to the settlement of him. My wife and I double, set out with him from Manchester on Monday, September 7th.

August 16. I was told by a dear friend that certificates from the Bishop were granted against Mr. Jones and Mr. Martindale, for preaching at Gorton; and that it was given out that a third should come out against me, for preaching in my own house.

And now on September 7th, we began our journey. The season in this country had been very wet for some time before. And the first day we were wetted ill; but came to Newcastle, and there we were among friends that made much of us. The next day at Heywood we baited; and there we found the woman of the house knew me, from some former times of my preaching in that country, — and she received us joyfully. We went that night to Coton, and when we came towards Lichfield we found all dust. We called at Coton on purpose to see my sister Ann Manwareing, and she was that very day gone with the wagon towards London; but upon the great importunity of my cousin Jane, we stayed at Coton all night. The next morning I went to see Mr. Langley, my old friend, and spent a little time with him; and so went towards Coventry, and that night came to Southam. Much mercy we found in the way and preservation, in that we had none in company but Daniel. My cousin H. M., promised to meet us at Lichfield, and overtook us not till we had gotten to Oxford; (we came in on Thursday about three of the clock, and he came in about nine.) We found Harry well; and we stayed in Oxford till Monday. Then we took him with us the first day. And when we were at meat on Monday, we discoursed of going by Reading and Windsor; which we were willing to do that at Reading we might see Edm. Wickens, and at Windsor I desired to see Dr. Evans. On a sudden we concluded to take that way. But we found it a tedious long way to Reading, and it was late

before we reached thither. This Monday night, September 14th, we lay at Reading. The next day we parted with Harry, and went for Windsor. We baited there; and I went to look for my old friend Dr. Evans, and found him gone out of town just the day before. I went into the castle to his lodgings, but not finding him I thought myself under a great disappointment. My wife also, not well, being weary and shaken with her fall. And so we having a great journey then to London for that afternoon, we set out as soon as we could, about two, in little cheer, God knows. When we had rode about three or four miles, we met Mr. Ashehurst, jun., Mr. Hulton and his wife, Mr. Senior, Mr. Ferneside. We turned back with them to Windsor, saw the castle and town, and lay there all night. The next morning saw Eton College. And went by Hampton Court, and saw that princely and beautiful house; and had great content in the opportunity and company. So that this cured and revived us under our former discouragements.

In the looking upon Hampton Court, (September 16th,) a stately brave thing, we saw delightful situation, rich furniture, and rarely beautified. Yet all this, the king seems not very much to delight in; and a man may find better things to set his heart upon. We came that night into London to Mr. Dykes's, at the Cock in Aldersgate. The next morning I went to see my brother, in the Minories. And there I found Mr. Baines' letter was gotten before me, which set them in expectation of my coming; and I thought it the worse for that. But I had present care about my horse, that lay at charges; expected to sell him, but could not. But I lent him to Mr. Bucknall for ten days; and after turned him out to grass at Newington, where he went till December 29th, and did well, which was a great ease and mercy to me. And he stood me for his grass but fifteen shillings, for all that time.

But on the Friday, September 18th, we went from the inn to the Minories to my brother Thomas, where we were kindly received by him and my sister. On Saturday, my sister Ann M., being in London, found us out. On Tuesday after, being September 22nd, Daniel went to his place, to Mr. Grant, a milliner, in Red-cross

Street, at the Half Moon and Seven Stars. He proved brother to my dear friend Mr. Richard Grant, my contemporary in Cambridge, and afterwards my singular bosom friend. The man, one of a very good temper, quiet, and kind natured; and I saw the boy was like enough to be well used. And here he continued, liked well, and soon was master of his business, and was very cheerful.

We were on the Wednesday, (September 30th,) at Mr. Ashehurst's; dined with Dr. Seaman; and Mr. Baxter came in, whose company I had for two or three hours, to my great content. After, we set out in a coach to Newington; for Mr. Hulton was to go into Lancashire the week after. We went therefore to be with them two or three days, before they went.

October 10th, (Saturday.) I went in the evening to Hackney, and preached for Mr. Senior the next morning; and returned to London, to preach in the afternoon to Mr. Baines's people.

On October 14th, (Wednesday,) I fell into a new exercise; for I perceived and suspected least the place designed for Daniel should not prove right. 1. This I found the master, — civil and well natured; but I doubt, not careful for religion. No prayer in the house since the boy came to him; and this troubled me much. 2. He dealt by wholesale, and only with gloves. A trade the boy could not think how to set up of, without such a stock as I could not, in an ordinary way, presume to have for him. 3. Little employment, so that for want of stirring, he began to be unhealthy; and further, I feared it would expose him to idleness and company, even the want of employment, and the too much goodness (as some call it) of his master, to let him go when he asked, &c. And also my uncle Watts knew the employment, and advised against it. John Buxton told me the last apprentice, Mr. Ashton, complained of it, and was weary of it, as a place of no employment nor improvement. I had much exercise about it. And now I saw the providence of God in bringing me up to London; for at a distance I should have laid the fault on the boy, and not have thought it could have been otherwise, because a place provided by Mr. Ashe-

hurst, and before provided by him for Mr. Ashton of Chadderton's brother; so that I concluded, that what served one of that quality, might well serve a son of mine. But with my own eyes I saw, and was forced to advise and bestir myself. Mr. Ashehurst was presently aware of the business. And my dear friend Mr. H. Ashehurst, jun., put it into his father's thoughts, to motion him to Mr. Langworth, a factor at Blackwall Hall; an employment of trust, needs no stock to set up with. The gentleman an intimate friend of Mr. Ashehurst's, a godly man.

October 19th, (Monday.) We went to Essex House to hear the trial of Mr. Mosley's cause, where we were all day. We came this night to Mr. Bucknall's, and there continued till after the Sabbath. October 20th, I was encouraged by Mr. Ashurst's taking the business of Daniel to his thoughts, and satisfying me that he would help me in it with Mr. Langworth if he could. If that failed, he would use his interest to provide some other convenient place for him. And also now in London I found much occasion for money, and was loath to borrow, and very seasonably this day I received 48s. which I was to pay in the country, (which I could easily do,) and it was much ease to me as to present occasions. The next day Mr. Langworth came to Mr. Ashcurst's, and I fetched Dan to them, and they saw him, and thus far he consented to it, that he had sent for a journeyman out of Yorkshire, to whom he was pre-engaged if he accepted their terms, which he thought he might not do, and was resolved not to recede from them, and so in case that failed, he would receive my son. Which after came to pass. And he told me after that he desired it might be for good; but he thought it was much God's providence that it should be so, for he was much resolved not to have taken an apprentice again. And the things they broke on with the proposed journeyman, were not substantial, yet he was induced thus to accept of Daniel. Whilst this was thus in agitation, October 22nd, when we were merry with our friends, news came that Harry Manwareing was arrested, and in prison. We kept it secret from our friends; but it was a great exercise to us. The next day I went to my brother Ashmole, whose man had done

it. His master professed it was done without his knowledge; but he was highly enraged against the nephew. And when I moved that he would lay down the one five pounds, and I would procure the other, he utterly refused. And so I was forced to send for ten pounds out of the country, and in the meantime to borrow part of it of Mr. H. Ash. jun.; and I paid it on Saturday, October 24th. I went about noon to have fetched him out, paid the money, and had a discharge. They went to reverse the action at the counter. The person whose name it was in must do it, and he was not there; and so one Eaton, that managed the business, went for him. We stayed five or six hours, till within night, and they came not. I was loath to leave him. At last I perceived it was upon a mistake. One, acquainted with him and them, had called upon my cousin, and they said in the house he was released; he met them coming to withdraw the action, and told them he was gone, (mistaking, it seems, or they mistaking that told him,) but upon this they went back. He came that way again, and finding us there told us how it was, as he verily thought. Upon this, he went with me, and we got the record altered, and the action withdrawn at the counter; and just as I was doing it, he asked whether that was the last entry. By which words I concluded that he was some false brother, and might have some new action to lay upon him, as soon as I had released him from this, which did terrify me extremely. But I took him aside, and asked him to tell me; and he told me there was none in the world that he knew of. And I was delivered of that fear. Went and had my prisoner delivered thus, at seven or eight o'clock at night. And it was a wonder how it was kept secret. He lay at the Cock on London Wall, and I went thither three or four times a day; which I could not have done by Mr. Hulton's door (as I did) without notice, but that it happened he should just now be gone into Lancashire. I had further cares about getting him out of town. And after some further cares and fears about it, at last he got away, and came into the country; and so this trouble was in some measure ended. But I needed much, and this was not a little one, nor alone.

I had now great cares upon me about Daniel, to get him on at the new place, and fairly to take him off with the old. For I loved Mr. Grant, and I was loath to deal unkindly, much less unfairly by him. Mr. Serjeant promised to have gone with me to him, but missed coming; and so it was put off a day or two. And at last I was forced to go myself, and do it as well as I could. The man was an honest man, and carried civilly to me, and was very free to let me provide better for him if I could; and so sent him to me on Friday, October 30th. He had been with him five weeks. I paid for his table twenty-five shillings, and so we ended there. Mr. Langworth in this interim had yielded to take him, and appointed a day when he should come, viz., the Wednesday after November 4th. He would have good security, because they had been wronged by some they had formerly had; and so they were resolved to be secured from any loss by him. I knew not the nature of these things, and so their security increased my fear of danger. I did not know who to ask to be bound with me. Wrote letters to friends in the country, but sent them not; for imparting my care to my cousin Smith, (my brother being from home,) he made nothing of it, but said he was confident my brother would do it for me, and if not, he would. This hugely eased me. And Mr. Ashurst undertook that either of them should be accepted. And when my brother came home, he freely yielded to do it; and was accepted. And so this trouble was off me in a few days.

November 4th, (Wednesday.) Daniel went to his new master, Mr. John Langworth, a factor in Blackwell Hall. I had many thoughts about ribbons, but he of himself cast them by, and said that they that would get their master's love must lay them by; which I was much rejoiced with. I daily hearkened after Daniel, and found him under difficulties in his new place. It did greatly satisfy me that his master told him of catechising and Sabbath keeping, and constant business, and seemed to contract and engage him to that, which I could have desired to have contracted and engaged with a master to look after for him. He was sensible of cold, and desired a gown, his master not willing of it, and my wife

took the boy off that. This was before the week's end after his first coming hither.

November 11. I received a letter from Peter, about some distaste he took at school; and this was a trouble to me.

December 1st, (Tuesday.) We had a sweet day at Sir Thomas Wilbraham's, in Hatton Garden. And at night I found Daniel had been with his mother, and told her more of his troubles; and had declared so much, that we concluded unless we could have some things changed it would be impossible to settle him. I had hitherto moved Mr. Ashurst to get his master to bind him as soon as he could, that I might be free to prepare to get home. Mr. Ashurst very lovingly had himself (being one of the assistants) presented him to the Master of the Company, on Friday, December 4th, that so he might be bound at any time, when his master could come with him. His master that day, in pursuance of my request to hasten his binding, went with him to dispatch it. As he went towards the Hall, he turned and asked him whether he was willing. The boy wept, and desired to speak with his father first, and so came back. This the boy took for a design upon him, that they would have bound him without my consent, &c., and the prejudice was so great that everything was taken in the worst sense; and this was settled in his mind, that when he was bound, they would then use him at their pleasure; and settled in these conceits by the discouragement that was upon his spirit, by which he saw every thing in wrong colours, and also by a naughty boy in the house, that told him some lies, and made him still believe how sad it would be to be bound. On the Saturday morning he came to us and told us his thoughts, and very stiff he was, that he could not be bound, he should never give content, &c. And we could hardly get him to consent to be bound, if we could get things remedied. We were this day, December 5th, to go to Clapham to Mr. Forth's, and so did. On the Sabbath, December 6th, Dr. Wilkinson preached an excellent sermon on mortification; and in the afternoon I preached on Ps. cxix. 59.

At our return to London, Daniel had been with his uncle; was

very bad. December 8th, before I got up, Daniel came in: a woful bout we had with him, and he flatly told me he would not be bound. By much importunity they had prevailed with me to let Harry come to London, now we were like to stay. His uncle thought he might do good with Daniel; but God had done it before he came. On the Tuesday after, he came to London. Daniel got leave, and met him in Holborn; was very cheerful; and the next day, December 16th, came to see us with his indentures in his hand. He had gone himself and was bound. I desire I may never forget this wonderful mercy. December 18th, we sealed the bonds and covenants, and all things were smooth and well; and, December 16th, (Saturday,) we were all invited to his master's house to dinner, and exceeding much made of. Great content God gave us in this affair after all our fear and sorrow about it. On December 30th I received letters from Manchester, which told me of the death of many of my friends, (as Mrs. Page, Ann Booker, &c.;) that my sister's arm was not right; and also that there was a general clamour against me for being away so long. I was troubled at it; and wrote my just defence, that I had been stayed by necessity, with little delight to myself.

January 5th, (Tuesday.) We went to Clapham again, being to keep a fast there the day after, on the behalf of Mr. Bridges, who is in trouble. January 6th, Mr. Lye of Fairclough joined with me.

And now, January 7th, I heard that Mr. Illingworth was dangerously sick at Manchester, which was some sorrow to me.

January 8th. My brother Ashmole took us to see the king and queen at Whitehall. A miserable snowy day it was. We dined with him at his house in Shere-lane, where he lives with his wife, whom I knew not of before, or that he was married.

I did much desire to be useful to my brother's family in some thing for the charge we put him to so long. We did both desire to have spiritual discourse revived. I urged the children to read the Scripture, bought them catechisms; but we set up singing of psalms every night, and my brother got up and prayed every morning. I persuaded him to it; and, a wonderful thing, the first

morning he used it, he went to the water side and by one bargain of wheat got near £5, which both he and I took notice of. At our cousin Smith's house they used cards. My brother found fault with them, and they could reply, Were not cards as good as choosing king and queen at twelfth-tide? Such use are persons ready to make of anything that some do, that may tend to a connivance of them in their manifest excesses. All this was, they suffered the children and servants to make a cake and to make this merriment this night, and none with them but just their own neither. But I resolved not to give the like occasion again in any such trivial thing, if I could foresee any such use could be made of it.

January 12th, (Tuesday.) We went to Newington to our good friend's house. I was sent for to the Lord Delamere, and went the next morning and baptized his daughter Sophia. I was now under troubles: 1. for Manchester. I heard of their afflicted condition, many swept away by a raging fever. 2. My own family there. 3. My getting thither. 4. My being there. We had a good day at Mr. Woodcock's in Hackney, Jan. 15th.

January 19th, (Tuesday.) Mr. Langworth had given Daniel leave to come to us to Newington, and Harry went for him; but they came not till after eight in the night; had brought William Crowther, as they said, home to his uncle Dr. Hawes, at Islington, and the Dr. had asked them to stay supper. Daniel's master had told me he mattered not that he should have his boots; they might be a temptation to him; and when he had occasion to ride, he would furnish him. The ordering of this little thing, I counted it a great mercy, for I was much puzzled with it.

January 27. I visited the Bishop of Chester at his lodgings in Pall Mall; and he received me very courteously, and used me kindly, and we had a deal of free discourse.

February 1st, being Monday morning, we set out of London. Took leave of Daniel and friends at the George in Aldergate. My wife went into the coach. And I did but stay till my horse could be brought to me; and they taking the way by Holborn and

Kentish Town, I missed them, thinking they had gone by Islington. When I came by Highgate, they set me after another stage coach, and it caused me to ride very hard. I overtook it at Barnet, and found my mistake. I was above an hour before the Chester coach. The second day, to Newport Pagnall and Northampton, was very bad way. The third day, to Creek, (where we baited,) was very sad blustering rain. We lodged at Whitchurch February 5th. And on Saturday to Chester. We lodged at Mr. Anderson's at the Hope and Anchor, where we were kindly and freely received, and lay till Tuesday. I preached after sermon on Sabbath day night, at Mr. Radclyffe's. Helped them in a private day on Monday. By the fury of one man they are much hindered of help there in that city. The Lord think upon them! On Tuesday, February 9th, we set out with the Lord Delamer's coach, and had a wet tedious journey to Northwich, and so got to Knutsford that night; where we met most of our family and several friends, in whose company we came home to Manchester about two, February 10th. And found friends ready to welcome us; and so they continued to do for several days.

We greatly feared coming out of the fresh air into the town, especially when said to have such a fever in it; but the distemper was abated before we came home. And the first service I was invited unto, after I came home, was to a day of thanksgiving for mercy to Caleb Broadhead's family, in this particular. February 18th, I preached after sermons in public in my own family, and many came in.

March 19. We kept a day of thanksgiving primarily on Mr. Illingworth's account, for the mercy of his recovery.

On Easter day, April 11th, the Warden preached on Rom. vi. 4. He had now, (as oft he hath,) many bitter hints against hypocrisy, and the sin of professors; which being so indifferently spoken, (without due reserves and cautious restrictions in the case,) I fear lays religion low in the esteem of those that hate it. Yet I thought we should make use of it, to strive to repent and avoid according to his hints. And to think that he takes more care of us, than he

does of the rest, in that he is so frequently helping us with his reproofs and reflections.

On April 12th, being Easter Monday, a special messenger was sent from Chester for me to come forthwith, to meet Mr. Baines there, who was on his journey out of Ireland towards London. Accordingly the next day we went. His design was of love to me, in consideration of my condition here, where I am but of little use, and no little burthen; and that I might have thoughts to return to London, where (as he thought) my work would be more, and I more freely and ungrudgingly provided for. I put him upon it to do nothing without Mr. Ashurst's and Mr. Hulton's consent. This occasioned work for hammering and canvassing the thing to and fro, for several weeks; but at last it was determined for my stay.

April 23rd, (Friday.) We set out on a visit to Hoghton Tower. On the 24th, I understood of a very strange thing that had happened here by Mr. Martindall; who had told my lady some way, that I had said, that she had no mind to suffer her daughter Mrs. Lucy, to marry, and that thereupon she should take great unkindness at me. Here we stayed some days to our great content. And here we found the Lady Ivy, and became acquainted with her, who after shewed us much kindness; whom we met in her journey from Preston at Warrington. And after, I took Rose to her to Seford this summer, with whom she was a month.

November 20th, (Saturday.) This night I had a letter from my friend Mr. H. Ashurst, junr., which brought me the saddest news that ever I had in my life, viz., of the miscarriage of Daniel; and in such general terms, that we had sorrow without bounds. It is a great sorrow, bitter, reaches to the very heart; and it is a sorrow I can see no end of. It is a sorrow that many precious men have in the very kind. Mr. Angier, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Harrison. And I am sure they have done more for their children's education than ever I did, or could do. And who am I, that I should not taste of this kind of sorrow? November 21st, (being Lord's day,) I kept in; and a sorrowful day it was. I wrote to Dr. Davenport,

as my friend I could best trust, and desired him to acquaint me with the full of the thing. The next day, (November 22nd,) I received a letter from him, which gave some general account of what I had heard before, but it was not so dreadful as the other. On November 23rd, I went towards Bolton, being pre-engaged; called of William Tonge by the way. I was unfit for any service, and yet I would visit Mr. Moxon's wife, (who died soon after;) and it was chiefly upon this consideration,—that I think her good father Mr. Ambrose would, in the like case, have done more for me than this. On the Saturday night, I received a woful account of particulars from Dr. Davenport; far above all my fears.

November 28. I was sent for this night to James Barret; and a mournful story poor Mary told me of her third son, (all three proving so sadly,) and said she prayed I might never feel sorrow in this kind. And, alas! I was in the depths under the same kind of trouble; but told her not. November 29th, we kept a day of thanksgiving for Mrs. Mosley's recovery, (at Hulme,) Isaiah xxxviii. 17.

I was wofully cast down in expectation of the post; and unexpectedly he brought me a letter from Daniel, wherein he expressed some sense of his folly, and I seemed secured from the danger of his running away, which was a great ease to me, for that I dreadfully feared.

December 7th, (Tuesday.) I was abroad at George Smith's.

December 17th. I received a sweet letter from Mr. Angier about part of my case.

At the funeral of Mrs. Minshul, December 24th, the Warden preached on 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

December 26th, (Lord's day.) I received a letter from Alderman Ashurst, which makes things not desperate but doubtful about Daniel. Why should I think that God should change my son, when he hath not changed Mr. Angier's son, Mr. Goodwin's, nor Mr. Buxton's, nor James Barret's, nor many others?

January 19th, (Wednesday.) I called of poor Mrs. Wollen. I was ashamed to hear her say that nothing but poverty makes any

one contemptible, as if her low condition made her so little visited in her weakness. I heard of Robert Buxton, that he was weak, and they feared a consumption.

March 2nd, (Wednesday.) I was restless about another business, and must needs go to be satisfied about it; and strangely when one letter was looked for another was showed, which was Sir R. B. tre, which showed the whole design about Gorton business. I thought it a special providence I should thus come to the sight of it, and endeavoured with the Warden; but knowing what was aimed at, I wrote to the Lord Delamere to London, and he used endeavours which I hope will prove effectual.

The further sad news came this night from Mr. Hutton about Daniel, and I was sent to, to come up.

I had now prepared to be going towards London the Monday after Easter week, which was April 11th, and to that end had sent to Newcastle to take places in that coach, and it was done; and now April 4th, being Easter Monday, I received two letters which brought me the sad news of Dan's being gone away from his master, and could not, when those letters were writ, be heard of. They also seemed not willing I should come till he was heard of. Upon this I waited all the week, and could hear nothing. I kept my interest in the coach, that if letters had come on Saturday night, I should have gone on the Lord's day to Newcastle. The poor lad was found and brought back again to his master the very day I received my letters, but none wrote of it save only Mrs. Mills to her brother Samuel Woolmer, whose letter came on Saturday night. We set out on Saturday to go to Chester, to be ready to set out at the time appointed.

That very April 8th, in the evening, I called to see Mr. Johnson, who was then in town, and was a good while with him, and had a deal of comfortable diversion with him, by his profitable discourse.

April 13th. In the heat of an ordinance my affliction is light to me. I was sent for to my dear and true friend William Tonge.

On Wednesday, April 20th, Justice Howorth and his wife, and Mrs. Jolly of Wigan, had lain in the same house all night, and we

knew it not, till just ready to take coach. We came not to Wooburne this night till ten of the clock. We had Sir Walter Littleton in the coach with us to Northampton. And Sir Richard Hopkins went with us to London; and he was very fine company. On the last day, April 21st, the coach was overturned twice, in a little way going, yet none of us harmed. This night, in much sorrow, and with trembling hearts, at our coming to London, I sent for my brother, (whom we found newly married,) and with him we went, seeing our poor child in the way. I was supported from sinking sorrow by the Lord's own hand. Matters I found bad, yet not so bad as I feared.

April 25th, (Monday.) I took Daniel to us at his uncle's. This week passed in taking advice what to do with him. My best friends were positive in it, that the best way was to send him beyond seas. And when we were thus resolving in the general, and fixed on Jamaica as the fittest place, Mr. Jonathan Ashurst, a merchant, going himself thither, and by the solicitation of friends, he was easily induced to take him with him, a trading voyage, by Tangier, the Maderas, Barbados, and so to Jamaica; which all judged much to his advantage. The poor child was gotten linked with vile knaves that had made a prey of him; and he could not stir in any place for them. So that to tarry in the city it was no way fit, unless we would seeingly undo him; and to send him in the country he did not mind it himself; and besides, I had no employment for him, and so idleness would ruin him. And therefore we took this course.

About two on Monday morning, my dear child took boat for Gravesend, and so I took leave of him with a rueful heart; and the sad cries of his poor mother I shall not quickly forget.

May 25th, I heard of the death of poor Mrs. Dickinson's daughter, our Scarborough friend.

On May 28th, (Saturday,) I found my business with Mr. Langworth was not done. And some mistake about the sum received; he acknowledging only thirty pounds received, whereas I paid him forty pounds. This troubled me; though I then hoped all would end in kindness.

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